THE COMMUNIST

Vol. XIII NOVEMBER, 1934 No. 11

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(Report to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee)

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The Seventeenth Anniversary of the October Revolution

THE 17th anniversary of the October Revolution finds the Soviet Union constantly growing in strength both internally and externally. At the same time, the insoluble contradictions of the capitalist world become more acute every day and the inevitable downfall of its system becomes more evident to the widest masses. The struggle between the two worlds—Capitalism and Socialism—grows in width and depth. The relation of forces is shifting, on the whole, in favor of the growing Socialist world. The world-wide celebration of the 17th anniversary of the October Revolution will raise higher and higher the banner of the World October—the banner of the Communist International. These celebrations, carried through in struggle against the capitalist policies of fascization and war, will prove a powerful impetus to the further broadening and strengthening of the United Front which no amount of maneuvering by the Second International will be able to stop.

The outstanding event in the present international situation is the entry of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations. What a world of meaning there is in this fact alone, that the two strongest European imperialist powers, France and England, who formerly were the chief instigators and leaders of war against the Soviet Union, have found it necessary to become the chief initiators of inviting the Soviet into the League of Nations! Does this speak for the strength of capitalism, as counter-revolutionary Trotzkyism would wish us to believe? No, not at all. Every sincere opponent of capitalist exploitation will be able to see that this speaks for the growing *weakness* of capitalism. While their hatred and fear of the Socialist system in the Soviet Union are growing, not diminishing, yet the capitalist governments of France, England and Italy felt *compelled* to seek a rapprochement with the U.S.S.R. and to invite the latter into the League of Nations. French imperialism follows this policy of rapprochement with the U.S.S.R. more consistently and with less hesitancy than English imperialism, but the latter also feels forced to travel along these lines. The explanation for this is to be found in the deepening general crisis of capitalism and the consequent sharpening of imperialist contradictions, on the one hand, and in the immeasurably increased strength of the Soviet Union, especially its power in the struggle for peace, on the other.

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It is said that the fear of Hitler forced France to a policy of rapprochement with the U.S.S.R., and that a similar fear, though in a somewhat different way, forced England and Italy to a similar policy. All right. But isn't the coming of Hitler to power, in itself, the most glaring expression of the deepening general crisis of capitalism? And, furthermore, what is it that France, etc., fears from Hitler Germany? It is war, isn't it, not a local but a world war. But is not this again the clearest sign of the growing general crisis of capitalism and the sharpening of the contradictions between the imperialists? But that is not all. For it is quite conceivable that the deepening crisis of capitalism and the sharpening of imperialist contradictions might have produced on the part of French and British imperialism a policy of war against the Soviet Union instead of one of rapprochement. Stalin's proposition still holds good: that whenever the imperialists are in a tight corner, they are always "tempted" to try to get out of it at the expense of the Soviet Union. British and French and American imperialism would like nothing better than to solve their "troubles" precisely in this way. But. . . . There are several big "buts" in the present world situation that make this solution impossible, much as the imperialists would wish it. First and foremost the Socialist strength of the U.S.S.R., its economic, political and military power, all of this a direct result of the success of the First Five-Year Plan and the successful course of the Second Five-Year Plan. Secondly, the growth of the revolutionary movements in the imperialist and colonial countries and the growing determination of the widest masses to defend the Socialist Fatherland and to wage a struggle against imperialist war. Thirdly, the "fears" of some of the biggest imperialist powers: France fears Germany; America fears Japan; England fears both, for it does not now wish a world war between the imperialists—"fears" that cannot be eliminated short of another world war, which the victors in the first world imperialist war do not wish at the present time. Moreover, the central imperialist contradiction, that between British and American imperialism, continues to sharpen, as freshly demonstrated in the present naval "negotiations" between England, the U.S. and Japan. Fourthly, the genuine fear of the smaller capitalist countries to lose their very existence in another world war. And, fifthly, one of the most important reasons, the *power* of the U.S.S.R. in the struggle *to postpone the outbreak of war and to maintain peace.* This it was that has moved the implacable enemies of the Socialist system in the Soviet Union to change their policies from war-incendiarism to one of rapprochement and invite the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations.

In agreeing to enter the League of Nations, the U.S.S.R. dem-

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onstrated its determination to continue its consistent and successful policy of peace. The question to be decided was: will the entrance into the League of Nations give the Soviet Union additional opportunities for carrying on the struggle for peace, a struggle in which the toiling masses everywhere are vitally interested? Here two important changes in the world situation had to be taken note of. One was the outpost of war against the Soviet Union in Manchuria created by Japan, its daily war provocations, Hitler's anti-Soviet war preparations, and the German-Japanese rapprochement for war, which is already moving towards an alliance. This meant that Germany and Japan have become the chief incendiaries of war, war against the Soviet Union. The other change was the withdrawal of these two war incendiaries from the League of Nations and the attitude of rapprochement with the U.S.S.R. on the part of the remaining imperialist powers in the League of Nations. By these very facts the League of Nations was becoming a certain hindrance, even though small and formal, in the path of Germany and Japan for the immediate unfolding of war. It was clear, therefore, that this situation of sharpening contradictions between the imperialists offered the U.S.S.R. additional opportunities in the struggle for peace, namely, by accepting the invitation to join the League, to increase considerably the restraining role which the League began to play in the recent period.

In what way? By entering the League the U.S.S.R. will increase the isolation of Germany and Japan, the chief war incendiaries, at the same time strengthening the anti-war position of those powers who are against war at the present moment but are hesitating. The Soviet Union is now enabled to organize resistance to the war incendiaries through the conclusion of many-sided agreements. This is a policy of disrupting the war plans of the most aggressive imperialist States, a policy which takes account of all the changes in international relations. It is the most real policy of peace. It is based upon the interests of socialist construction, on the most vital interests of the workers of all countries, on the interests of the proletarian revolution.

Here we should recall the mad howl raised by the pack of Abe Cahan "Socialists" on the occasion of the Soviet Union's entrance into the League of Nations. In their impotent counter-revolutionary rage, they tried everything to confuse the meaning of this historic event. The Soviet Union was "tottering" again and was seeking help from the capitalist powers; the Soviet Union was giving its endorsement to the Versailles Treaty; it was engaging in imperialist politics; it was abandoning Lenin's attitude of oppo-

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sition to the League of Nations as a band of imperialist robbers; it was adopting the Socialist Party position on the League of Nations. The fact that every one of these "arguments" contradicted the next one did not matter. What mattered was to confuse the question. But we must not permit them to do so. We should ask: if it is true—which it is not—that the Soviet Union has "abandoned" Lenin and adopted the Socialist Party position on the League of Nations, then why this mad rage? Why this foam at the mouths of Abe Cahan, Oneal and Co.? It is, however, precisely this impotent rage that discloses the absurdity of the above assertions. These are facts, gentlemen, facts that speak for themselves. The Soviet Union made it perfectly clear that, not only has it no responsibility for the Versailles system, which it has always opposed, but that it continues to be against it. True, the Soviet Union is against a new war to revise the frontiers established by the Versailles Treaty. But who is for it? Hitler is; German fascism is; Japan is. The "criticisms" leveled at the Soviet Union by the Right Wing of the Socialist Party put the Cahans and Oneals in the same camp. Isn't that clear? The Communist International, of which the C.P.S.U. is the leading Party, seeks the destruction of the Versailles system by the victory of the socialist revolution in Germany, in the first instance, and in France and in England. We seek and work for a *revolutionary* solution, not an imperialist one like the Second International, of the question of the Versailles system.

The Soviet Union has adopted the position of the Socialist Party on the League of Nations! That *is* curious. It is an "argument" pushed by the Norman Thomas persuasion of the Socialist Party. But it is not true, just the same, as we shall show directly. But we are tempted to ask at this point, not of Cahan and Oneal, but of the Thomas persuasion: if that is true, why not join with us in a real mass struggle against war, for the defense of the peace policies of the U.S.S.R., which, you claim, are your own? Certainly, with the conclusion of the referendum in the Socialist Party, which marks the defeat of the Right Wing, there should be no ground for hesitation on this point. Now as to the question itself. The Second International, and the Socialist Party of America, were *consistent* adherents of the League of Nations; the Soviet Union never was an adherent of the League. Nor will it ever be *in the sense of the Second International*, in the sense of representing the League as the nucleus of a new world State (under capitalism) which will do away with imperialism and war. As against the position of the Second International, the Communist International fights for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for a *World Soviet Republic*. These two programmatic positions are mutually

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exclusive and cannot be reconciled. But what we can, and must, do now is to build up a united front in the daily struggle against war, for its postponement and delay. This is what the Soviet Union went into the League for; this is what we must join in a united front to support.

But when the leaders of the Socialist Party undertake "to prove" that the present position of the Soviet Union on the League of Nations is the "same" as the traditional one of the Second International, we must clarify the truth of the matter. What is this traditional position of the Second International? First, it participated in the *formation* of the League at the time when its chief aim was to organize a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union. Gompers, not technically but politically a part of world reformism, worked hand in glove with Wilson to form the League of Nations, which then inspired and led the military intervention against the Soviet Union. It was at that time that the Socialist Party of America raised the banner of the League of Nations in the United States, and, through Hilquit and others, tried to rally the masses around the League and Wilson who were sending American troops to Siberia and Archangel to fight the proletarian revolution, the Soviet system. The Socialist Party of America supported the League of Nations when it was waging war against the Land of Soviets, when the latter was heroically defending itself and the conquests of the revolution from military intervention. The Socialist Party continued to support the League in subsequent years when it continued to remain a hotbed of imperialist intrigue for new interventionist adventures against the Soviet Union and for new imperialist wars. This is the "traditional" position of the Socialist Party on the League of Nations. And can this be compared with the present position of the Soviet Union? Obviously not, for there is nothing in common between these two positions. The U.S.S.R. now entered the League of Nations as a strong and powerful Socialist State of 170 million people, making it abundantly clear that it assumes no responsibility for the past doings of the League, that it enters the League, not for the sake of war, *but in order to participate actively in the work of the League for the purpose of preserving peace.* It enters at a moment when its socialist strength and the support of the toiling masses all over the world make the Soviet Union struggle for peace of decisive importance. Does this have anything in common with the traditional position of the Second International? Of course not.

Nor is it true, as lyingly asserted by the same "champions" of Socialism, that the Bolsheviks of the Soviet Union and the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries, are now considering the

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League of Nations a fortress of peace and a firm guarantee against war. What the Communists really say is this: the entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations merely offers a modest opportunity for hindering the approach of war and it would be a crime against the world proletariat to ignore this opportunity, however small it may be. Certainly, it is not the 34 capitalist States that invited the Soviet Union into the League, nor the powers which initiated this invitation, still less those States which voted against the admission of the Soviet Union, that could give any guarantee for the preservation of peace. Nor must we overlook the fact that even among the bourgeoisie of the countries that voted for the acceptance of the U.S.S.R. into the League, let alone those that voted against, there are bitter enemies of rapprochement with the U.S.S.R., enemies who waged an intense struggle for the preparation of an anti-Soviet war before the Soviet Union's entry into the League and will continue to do so in the future. Also Poland, who signed the non-aggression pact with the U.S.S.R., then proceeded to "supplement" this step by signing an agreement with Hitler-Germany which openly prepares an attack upon the Soviet Union. And Poland again, having followed in the course of France, England and Italy in inviting the U.S.S.R. to enter the League, at the same time stubbornly opposes the signing of the Eastern Pact. We must also remember the double game played by England towards the two imperialist States that are at present the chief incendiaries of war: one kind of attitude toward Germany, another one toward Japan, *i.e.*, while tending to restrain the one, inclining to give the other a freer hand. And, lastly, the attitudes of our "own" bourgeoisie, the divisions existing within it on the question, and the growing push of the most reactionary and aggressive circles of monopoly capital. Above all must we remember the possibility of all sorts of unexpected changes in the attitudes of individual governments whose conduct depends upon the most varied changes in the internal and external situation of their respective countries which proceed to develop under the sign of the deepening general crisis of capitalism.

The imperialist contradictions will continue to sharpen both inside and outside of the League. This being the case, the effectiveness of the peace struggle of the representatives of the U.S.S.R. in the League will depend upon the forces which stand behind these representatives—the growing socialist construction and the growing united front of the anti-war and anti-fascist forces in the capitalist countries.

We call upon the workers, toiling farmers, Negroes, all honest enemies of imperialism and war, we call upon the American toiling youth, to join with us in a mighty struggle

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against fascism and war, for the support of the peace struggles of the Soviet Union, for the defense of the U.S.S.R. It would be very harmful to underestimate the significance of the Soviet Union's entry into the League of Nations, to assume simply that everything remains as before. This would constitute an underestimation of the possibility for a sharper and more practical struggle for peace by the U.S.S.R. and the international proletariat, due to the new position won by the Soviet Union. Let us rally the masses in the anti-fascist and anti-war united front. Carry the banner of the defense of the Soviet Union into the widest masses, arousing them to organized struggle for the defense of the Socialist Fatherland, the fortress of the world revolution, the beacon light for the proletariat and all oppressed in the imperialist and colonial countries.

We call the Socialist Party to join in this united front. We do so in the clear realization that only under the banner of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of Soviet Power will the working class of the United States be victorious; that it is not a new imperialist war but the victorious proletarian revolution which will relieve the world of the capitalist system, of crisis, war and fascism, and that only the Soviets will lead to the triumph of Communism throughout the world.

* * * *

The 17th anniversary of the October Revolution brings once more to the forefront the contrast between the two worlds—Socialism and Capitalism—and their irreconcilable conflict. This conflict will find its final solution only through the victory of the world revolution.

The world revolutionary crisis, as analyzed by the Thirteenth Plenum of the Comintern, continues to mature, though unevenly. The armed struggle of the Spanish masses against the advent of fascism, a struggle in which Socialist, Communist and Syndicalist workers fought shoulder to shoulder, offers fresh evidence of the maturing world revolutionary crisis. It shows the growth of the united front against war and fascism for which the Communists are fighting. It also shows that *victory* in this struggle can be achieved only by following the path of Bolshevism, the path of the October Revolution in Russia, and that the paths of anarcho-syndicalism and reformism cannot but lead to defeats. Increasing numbers of Spanish workers and toiling peasants are beginning to tread the path of Bolshevism. When decisive numbers have joined this march, fascization, fascism and war will become a thing of the past and Soviet Power will be triumphant. The refusal of the Second International, and of the Socialist Party of America, to

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accept the offer of the Comintern and of the C.P.U.S.A. respectively to join in a united front in support of the Spanish masses (Socialists, Communists, Syndicalists) will not stop our struggle for the united front. It will only show *where responsibility lies* for the difficulties in achieving it.

In the United States the need for this united front is becoming more urgent every day. It is time that workers in the reformist organizations, and the masses generally, be made to see this urgency in all its implications.

A new and more widespread capitalist offensive is on foot in the United States. Losing confidence in the ability of the New Deal to bring about "recovery" without more drastic fascization and actual war, totally disappointed with the effectiveness of the Roosevelt demagogy to "abolish" the class struggle, in which demagogy they never believed much, the most reactionary circles of monopoly capital in the United States are demanding *a quicker tempo* of fascization and war preparation. The Liberty League, a bi-partisan combination of the most aggressive fascized groups of monopoly capital, is dissatisfied with what they consider Roosevelt's slow pace in the further robbery of the masses, in further reducing their low standards, in trampling under foot their most elementary rights, and in preparing for war. The Liberty League wants to move faster along these Rooseveltian lines. And Roosevelt? He *does* move faster under the whip of the Liberty League, although keeping up a running polemic against it and desperately struggling to retain a certain mass base. Consider: the "truce", the new "reconciliation" with the bankers, the stiff position of the U.S. at the London naval negotiations, the new war games of the fleet, etc.

The New Deal is moving faster on the road of fascization and war under the promptings of the monopolies. The National Textile Strike was met by methods of open civil warfare on the part of the bourgeoisie and its New Deal (fascist concentration camps for the strikers in Georgia) supplemented by "truce" maneuvers and arbitration. Workers' rights are systematically curtailed and abolished. Terror is let loose everywhere the workers stand up in defense of their most elementary interests. With the help of the reformist bureaucracy of the A. F. of L., including the Socialist, Dubinsky, and shielded by Thomas, the New Deal presses for the fascization of the labor unions, at the same time facilitating the growth of company-unionism and fascist methods of factory organization. And what is the *nature* of these developments? *It is the process of fascization.* This was the road along which monopoly capital in Germany brought Hitler to power. At the same time the development of the New Deal towards a new imperialist war is no

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less evident. Following the Banker's Convention in Washington, D.C., and the "reconciliation" with Roosevelt, a new and most concentrated "drive for foreign markets" is again on foot. The relations between American imperialism and its chief world imperialist rival—England—and its main rival in the Pacific, Japan, are admittedly becoming "worse". This shows itself very clearly in the present London naval "negotiations" in which American imperialism stands determinedly against any increase of Japanese naval power, while increasing its own, and desperately (but as yet ineffectually) trying to check the game of British imperialism which is designed to weaken American naval power with the help of Japan, without giving the latter too much leeway in the Far East. The aggressiveness of American imperialism is growing and its intensive war preparations are seen nowhere as clearly as in the uninterrupted war games of the fleet, especially the latest one around the Panama Canal. And hand in hand with this goes the New Deal's opposition to unemployment insurance, the unfolding attacks upon all relief services, as seen, among others, in such dastardly acts as the invalidation of the Railroad Pension Act by the Supreme Court.

We are also witnessing now a sharpening of the contradictions of the New Deal. In analyzing the New Deal as a measure of fascization and war preparation, the Communist Party pointed out the *contradictions* of the New Deal, which, while succeeding in raising the profits and saving the capital values of the monopolies, will, because of it, only deepen the general crisis of capitalism and the misery of the masses. More specifically the Party pointed out that the contradictions of Roosevelt's "labor policies" were bound to have the most far-reaching effect in contributing to revolutionizing the class struggle in the United States. The New Deal, taken in all its aspects, and in conjunction with the world situation as it was developing in 1933-34, undoubtedly succeeded in helping American capitalist economy to pass over from the lowest depths of the economic crisis to the "special kind of depression" now prevailing. The Republican opponents of Roosevelt, who publicly deny that the New Deal had anything to do with it, privately know better. They know that the reason the monopolies can show increased profits and practically undeflated capital values, the reason production on the whole had gotten out of its lowest point in 1932, is to be found primarily in the New Deal policies of making minimum wages become maximum, of staggering the whole working class to unprecedented low standards of living, of robbing the masses by inflation, of plundering the public treasury to subsidize the monopolies, of intensifying war preparations and thus feeding the munition man-

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ufacturers, of giving the monopolies a free hand in all fields of American capitalist economy. The rapacious imperialist vultures of the Liberty League know these things better than anyone else. And yet they are dissatisfied. Why? Because the present depression is not creating the prerequisites for a new upswing, *i.e.*, the capital goods industries show no signs of appreciable revival, without which no serious revival of American capitalist economy is possible.

The Cleveland Trust Company (*Business Bulletin*, Oct. 15, 1934) describes quite correctly the course of economic development in the U.S. during the New Deal. It finds that the advances in industrial production that occurred during the New Deal were short in duration and were invariably followed by declines which cancelled all previous gains, even driving production to lower depths. It says:

> "The fourth quarter of 1934 begins with the volume of industrial production not only at a new low for the year, but less in amount than at any time since April of 1933. The first quarter of this year was characterized by a rapid and sustained increase in business activity. Industrial production had declined after the rapid recovery of the spring and summer of 1933, until by last November it had lost the major portion of its earlier gains. From that month until April of this year it advanced again, so the first quarter of 1934 was one of recovery. The second quarter was one in which business activity slowly turned down again, and the third quarter was a period of more rapid decrease. This decline is of special importance because it cancels out the third important movement toward recovery that business has experienced since the lowest point of depression stagnation was reached in 1932."

And further:

> "The advance which began last November continued until May of this year, during which period the index of production advanced eleven points. *Since May the index has dropped about sixteen points*" (Our emphasis).

The prospects for the fourth quarter of 1934 in such basic industries as iron and steel are only "moderately encouraging", according to the same source.

"Prosperity" is not yet here, not even around the corner. The reason? The Liberty League, and other spokesmen for the most reactionary circles of monopoly capital, point to the following as the reason for the lack of "business confidence" and the consequent absence of long-term financing: Roosevelt's labor policies, his relief program which unbalances the government budget and undermines the credit structure of the country, the inflation policies of the New Deal, the interference of the N.R.A. bureaucracy with business.

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From this follows a certain program which these vultures of finance capital are urging upon Roosevelt. Putting together the various proposals that have come from the Liberty League, the Bankers Association, the Durable Goods Industries, the heads of the Chamber of Commerce, etc., we get the following:

1. *A nationwide and thorough campaign of wage cuts.* This proposal has been very succinctly put by the Durable Goods Industries. It says:

> "A minimum wage might be continued during the remainder of depression, but *low enough* not to interfere with or control the wage level in general, which should be allowed to respond naturally to the general price level and the relative demand for goods and services, all of which is essential in a competitive economy."

2. *Longer hours.* The monopolies are liberal. They are quite willing to let wages in certain industries remain stationary provided hours are increased.

> "Wage levels must be readjusted by stabilizing at their present levels and holding them stationary until the general price level rises, to correct the existing disparity, or by readjustment *downward.* In either event the *quid pro quo* to labor must be the privilege of working longer hours." (*Ibid.*)

The "privilege" offered the workers is to work longer hours to make good the wage cuts.

3. *Elimination of labor unions.* This proposal is couched, naturally, in diplomatic terms. It calls for:

> "The establishment of sound relations between employers and employes, based upon fair dealing and mutual understanding between the parties rather than upon governmental supervision and regulation." (*Ibid.*)

4. *More "freedom" for the monopolies.* This, too, is stated diplomatically, but the meaning is clear enough.

> "The restoration of the bulk of American enterprise to a condition of competition in the marketing of their products with provision that where a given majority in a given industry may consider it essential for its preservation or for the conservation of a natural resource, it shall be entitled to make application to the Federal Trade Commission, for the privilege of organizing under a revised N. I. R. A. in such a way as to market its products in a monopolistic manner." (*Ibid.*)

It provides also for "strict governmental regulation" of the monopolies, but this, as is known, is a case of the monopolies getting more strict regulation over the government.

5. *Elimination, beginning with drastic cuts, of all relief services.*

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"The establishment of a balanced national budget at the earliest possible date."

> "A balanced budget would of necessity curb tendencies to extravagant public expenditures and would induce similar action by States and municipalities." (Resolution of the American Bankers Association.)

Hopkins already "forecasts" cuts in relief.

The foregoing, plus more intensive preparations for war and mobilization for the armed suppression of workers' struggles and more widespread denial of their rights, is the new program of the monopolies. It is this program of the most brazen robbery and suppression of the masses that the monopolies, especially the most reactionary and fascized groups, are preparing to enforce in the *fifth winter* of the economic crisis. *The American working class, the toiling farmers, the Negro masses and all exploited, are facing the unfolding of a new capitalist offensive.*

How to meet it is the main question. The reformist bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. has accepted the lead of Roosevelt and is determined to collaborate with the New Deal even more fully than heretofore. This has been made abundantly clear by Green, Lewis, Woll and Co. at the San Francisco Convention of the A. F. of L. And what is the meaning of this policy (collaboration with the New Deal) at the present juncture of the class struggle? *It is a policy of disarming the working class* in the face of the unfolding capitalist offensive led by the most fascized groups of monopoly capital. What else can this policy be since it is based upon Roosevelt's "truce" strategy? Roosevelt has been "experimenting" with this "truce" strategy ever since he came to power. He applied it in the automobile industry, in steel, and in textile, to mention only the most outstanding instances. In these "experiments" he had the active support of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. The result is known: it was either dispersal of promising maturing struggles or defeat for the workers in the course of struggle. The only outstanding instance where the Roosevelt-Green "truce" strategy did not work as well for the capitalists was in the maritime strike on the Pacific Coast and in the San Francisco General Strike. But this was the "fault" of the Communist Party and of the revolutionary elements in the unions.

Roosevelt's latest proclamation in favor of a "truce", prompted chiefly by the growing strike movements and also by the urgings of the Liberty League for more rapid fascization, undertakes to make this anti-labor and strike-breaking strategy a legitimized and established part of the New Deal. By making this strategy their own, the reformist bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. is stepping forth as

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one of the chief forces (the chief force within the working class) for the carrying out of the unfolding capitalist offensive. For the "truce" is designed to bind the forces of labor to passivity while the monopolies go ahead with the execution of their program.

It would, of course, be an error to assume that everything in the camp of the capitalist class is smooth and harmonious, or that the Liberty League and Roosevelt are agreed on everything. The Party has pointed out repeatedly (Eighth Convention, September session of the Central Committee) that the New Deal is sharpening the contradictions not only between the working class and the capitalist class, which is basic; the contradictions between all exploited (toiling farmers, Negroes, etc.) and monopoly capital; but also the contradictions *within* the capitalist class itself. The narrowing margin of profits, due to the deepening general crisis and the rising revolutionary struggle, makes the scramble for the division of profits (in many cases it is a fight for the shifting of deficits) among the various capitalist groups ever more acute. These struggles within the camp of the capitalist class, if correctly analyzed and utilized, can be made a source of strength to the revolutionary movement. Thus we must take account of the sharpening contradictions between various groups of monopolies and especially between the monopolies and the so-called independents. It is from this latter development that there arises the cry that, on the one hand, the New Deal does not give the monopolies sufficient leeway and, on the other hand, that they are given too much. The latter comes especially from the smaller capitalists. Roosevelt, *following out in essence the policies of the monopolies,* is compelled at the same time to consider the complaints of the independents or else risk a certain narrowing down of his political base. Thus far Roosevelt is still trying to satisfy, in a measure, the demands of the larger capitalists among the independents. But the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism is making such maneuvers ever more difficult, if not impossible. To this category of fights within the capitalists belong such questions as "government regulation" of monopolies, the question of a centralized banking system, the government credit policies, etc. These are real fights for the division of the diminishing profit fund. Interconnected with this are the divisions between the creditors and debtors and between the export and import industries. Those reflect themselves in such questions as inflation, the creditors standing out against its more extreme forms; the question of tariff policy on which the exporting industries favor a more "liberal" policy. These, too, are real fights over the division of diminishing profits. And in this field, also, Roosevelt finds it ever more difficult to maneuver between the various claimants among the capitalists. On

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the whole, Roosevelt is trying more than formerly to follow the line of the biggest and most powerful combinations of capital on these questions, as on all others. *This is the significance of the recent "reconciliation" of the bankers to the New Deal.* But, again, Roosevelt is also trying not to lose completely the support of the other capitalist groups. Consequently, we must count with, not a diminishing struggle in the capitalist camp but, on the contrary, a sharpening struggle, since the general crisis deepens.

More serious, of course, are the contradictions between industry and agriculture which the New Deal has already sharpened immeasurably. Here, again, we wish to single out the contradictions between the monopolies and the rich farmers, the farmer capitalists, while emphasizing that the basic contradiction is with the toiling farmers. It will be noted that the attitude of the monopolies to the Roosevelt agrarian policies underwent changes. From undisguised hostility to any concessions even to the well-to-do farmers (the Hoover policy), the monopolies have hesitantly moved to a lukewarm acceptance of the Roosevelt policy of such concessions to the rich and a small upper stratum of middle farmers. This change was motivated by an almost animal fear of the spreading strike movement among the farmers and especially by the terrorizing perspective of these farmer struggles linking themselves up with the then incipient strike movements among the workers. Roosevelt's aim, from the outset of his administration, was by all means *to prevent a simultaneous rise* of farmer and proletarian struggles; and this he proposed to achieve by making some real concessions to the rich farmers, mostly illusory concessions to some sections of the middle farmers and empty demagogic promises to the workers. In essence he continues this line but with this important *change*. He is slowing up the unfolding of his agricultural policies, trying to maintain there a sort of status quo, while speeding up his labor policies along the line of the demands of the Liberty League and the Durable Goods Industries. The purpose is relatively plain: carry through the offensive upon the workers in the first instance, keeping the farming masses more or less quiescent by holding out the old program; and if successful against the workers, then turn the full force of attack against the farmer masses. Realizing that this is the meaning of the Roosevelt present-day policies, the monopolies are practically raising no objections to the workings of the A.A.A. The fact that such "radicals" as Tugwell are practically out of the A.A.A. gives the monopolies additional confidence that nothing bad is to be feared from the Roosevelt agricultural program.

There is one great flaw, and many smaller ones, in this nice Rooseveltian scheme. If the unfolding offensive against the work-

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ers does not succeed, as it is our business to make it so, the whole scheme falls to the ground; and if, contrariwise, it does succeed, the home market for agricultural products will diminish still more catastrophically. This will mean an infinitely deeper agricultural crisis in the U.S. and a greater rise of farmer struggles linking up with the mounting revolutionary tide among the workers. The rising demand on the part of the ex-servicemen for the Bonus, the fight for which we must resume on a wide scale, will considerably upset the Roosevelt Strategy of "peace" among the farmers. The fights within the capitalist camp on these questions will also grow in acuteness. It is necessary, however, to add that there is no *automatic* guarantee that the inevitable simultaneous rise of farmer and worker struggles will take place *on the same scale* or that they will link up effectively *under the hegemony of the workers*. To insure that this will be so requires indispensably the carrying out of the measures outlined in the Open Letter of the Extraordinary Party Conference (May, 1933). The fact that the rising struggles of the industrial workers in 1934 have thus far not been accompanied by a corresponding rise in farmers' struggles is to be explained (in addition to the New Deal agrarian demagogy) by our weaknesses in carrying out these measures of the Open Letter. It is once more, but on a rising level, the question of building the Party in the concentration points and of winning the farmer toilers for the alliance with the proletariat under the latter's leadership.

Under the pressure of the deepening general crisis, the growing revolutionary advance, and the urgings of the Liberty League crowd, Roosevelt already finds it almost impossible to fulfil the program of the monopolies without exposing himself to the danger of a *narrowing mass base*. It will be observed that Roosevelt is fighting desperately against his diminishing standing among the masses whom he deceived, for he knows full well that when he loses that, he will be of little use to the monopolies. Thus he is maneuvering: he pleads with the Liberty League for a little slower tempo in fascization and makes promising demagogic gestures to the masses. But even this highly slippery position (if a position it can be called) he cannot maintain for long. This can be seen very graphically in his attitude to the Sinclair candidacy in California. The Party has characterized Sinclair's "Epic" as a mixture of reactionary utopia with "realistic", reformist and Tammany Hall practices, the spread of which among the petty-bourgeois and worker masses in sections of California is explained by the growing disillusionment in the New Deal, on the one hand, and the relative weakness of the Communist Party, on the other hand. Also, the experiences of the masses with the reformist policies of the Socialist

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Party, insufficiently counteracted by the Communist Party, were bound to lead these masses into the blind corner of Sinclair's "Epic".

It is true, of course, that Roosevelt and the Democratic Party machine had little sympathy for the "Epic". But the latter soon rolled up sufficient strength to "capture" the Democratic State primaries in California. What to do? This was a difficult problem for Roosevelt. He wanted the mass base of the "Epic", which was making great efforts to stem the spread of Communism. But he feared the masses that are following Sinclair and he also anxiously feared the displeasure of the monopolies. He therefore decided to support Sinclair with one hand and to destroy him with the other. But this did not work. Rumors spread about the "flight of capital" from California. The reactionary and most aggressive circles of finance capital were pressing Roosevelt on all sides, as is well known, in the course of recent weeks. The result is: the Roosevelt acrobatics in California have produced a crisis in the California Democratic Party machine with Creel withdrawing his support of Sinclair.

Thus we see how the contradictions of the New Deal are sharpening all along the line.

* * * * *

The unfolding new offensive upon the working class raises in its entire magnitude the question of the United Front. The new angle on this question is that, not only is the need for a united front now greater than ever before, but that the *possibilities* for it are also greater than ever.

It would be a one-sided and thoroughly wrong characterization of the present situation in the United States merely to point to the unfolding capitalist offensive without bringing into proper relief *the growing wave of mass revolutionary actions*. The Party's analysis at the 8th Convention of the imminence of great battles of the American proletariat was splendidly confirmed by subsequent events. Not only did the New Deal fail to stop the class struggle toward which end the reformist bureaucracy of the A. F. of L., including such Socialists as Dubinsky & Co., have worked strenuously; not only did they fail to stop the strike wave; but the very efforts of the New Deal and its reformist assistants to achieve this "noble" aim contributed towards making the strike struggles *more political*, towards raising the whole class struggle *towards higher revolutionary levels*. The American Communists will continue to expose the Right and sectarian errors in their work even more ruthlessly than formerly in order more speedily to correct them. But neither will they fail to point out the leading role of the Communist

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Party in the General Strike of San Francisco, a milestone in the revolutionary advance in the United States, or the role of the Party in the historic national textile strike in giving support, encouragement and guidance to the masses.

We are in the midst of a further rise of the revolutionary mass actions of the American proletariat. And precisely in the basic industries. The automobile and steel "truces", carried through by Roosevelt and the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, have only temporarily succeeded in demoralizing the workers' ranks. Far from having settled any of the workers' grievances, these treacherous "truces" have only created new grievances, more bitterness on the part of the masses, and determination to prepare for battle. These forthcoming struggles will be characterized, in spirit and consciousness, by much the same features as the National Textile Strike: a spirit and consciousness of class war against the capitalist offensive and its New Deal. Only learning from the betrayals of Gorman & Co., the auto and steel workers will more readily respond to our slogan of Rank and File Strike Committees which will give these struggles deeper content and real chances of success. And the Party membership will more energetically pursue the task of actually organizing the workers into such committees. Nor is the textile strike settled. A restrike movement is spreading and it will receive further impetus from the striking silk dyers. The danger of the betrayed textile workers leaving in bitterness the unions of the A. F. of L. and thus playing into the hands of the employers and the reformist bureaucrats will be averted by the entrance of all militants of the National Textile Workers Union into the United Textile Workers Union and fighting to build the A. F. of L. locals into class struggle organizations under rank and file leadership. The strike wave is mounting and its revolutionary contents are deepening.

What the workers are demanding in ever increasing volume is *unity of action, the United Front.* The Communist Party fights for it and will continue to fight ever more effectively, because the masses are moving to it. The reformist bureaucracy is against the united front because it will frustrate their game of sell-out, their collaboration with the New Deal in enforcing the treacherous "truce". The Dubinsky-Socialists in the A. F. of L. are working hand in glove with Green and Lewis, selling themselves to both and betraying their membership. But the Socialist workers need and want the united front with the Communists in order to jointly build the power of the proletarian counter-offensive. How much longer, then, will Norman Thomas continue to stand in the way of the united front?

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With the present sweep of the American workers to action and struggle, and to the united front as a means towards this end, is it not clear that those who continue to stand in the way of the united front will be swept aside by the masses and isolated from them? Thomas may have thought during the textile strike that he had an "unanswerable" argument against the united front with the Communists, namely, that the Communists' exposure of Gorman during the srtike allegedly injured the workers' chance of victory. With this "argument" as a weapon, Thomas proceeded to shield and protect Gorman and the Socialist, Rieve. But is it not perfectly clear now that it was the Thomas policy of keeping quiet about the Gorman betrayals that injured the strike and that the Communist policy was a source of great strength to the striking workers? It would be too much to expect Thomas to recognize the anti-working class character of his policy; but would it really be too much to expect that he would now make a move in the direction of the united front seeing how thoroughly correct the Communist policy was? Surely, the defeat of the Right Wing (Cahan-Dubinsky-Oneal) in the Socialist Party referendum on the Declaration of Principles, notwithstanding its programmatically reformist character, imposes upon the Socialist Party definite *obligations* favorable to the united front. We are vitally interested to see that an honest effort is made to fulfill at least these obligations.

The *New Leader* (October 27, 1934) pretends not to understand the difference between a strategic retreat, such as carried out by the Marine Workers Industrial Union in the recent strike of the Atlantic Coast seamen, and a sell-out, such as carried out by Gorman and Rieve in the textile strike. And the Dubinsky Socialists wonder: why it is that the Communists call Gorman a traitor while considering the M.W.I.U. a militant class struggle union? Does Norman Thomas see the difference? Every honest worker will see clearly that when a successful *mass strike* (which Gorman fought against, to begin with), which for all practical purposes had succeeded in tying up the industry, and for this reason had placed the workers in a position of *holding out* with great prospects of almost *complete victory*, especially had the A. F. of L. mobilized its resources for relief and had it, at least, abstained from stifling the will of the workers of related and other industries to come out in solidarity strikes; that when *at the height of such a strike* the workers are abandoned by their official leaders, who joined hands with the worst enemies of the strikers (Roosevelt and the whole New Deal outfit), to drive the strikers back to work, without a *single demand* having been satisfied, and with the employers stating openly that they will discriminate against the unionists and militant strikers,—that this was

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black treachery and sellout. No honest worker, who knows the facts, thinks of it differently. The Dubinsky-Socialist knows it and does not give a damn. But what about Thomas and the leaders of the R.P.C.? On the other hand, when a strike (the Atlantic Coast Marine) *for which there existed tremendous mass sentiment* fails to become effective as a mass strike *due primarily to the strike-breaking activities* of the leaders of the A. F. of L. seamen's union (I.S.U.), the brothers-in-arms of the Dubinsky-Socialists; when the whole leading machine of the A. F. of L. joins hands with the New Deal to counteract the most energetic and self-sacrificing struggle of the M.W.I.U. to spread the strike and actually succeeds; then, under these circumstances, when merely to continue the strike would have meant for the strikers certain loss of job and isolation from the mass of the seamen, the best policy was to make a strategic retreat continuing local struggles on individual ships wherever conditions are favorable. This is the sort of compromise that workers are forced to make every now and then when the forces of the bosses and reformist bureaucrats prove stronger than their own. What was there in common between the Gorman-Rieve sellout, shielded by Thomas, and the retreat of the M.W.I.U.? Nothing whatever. It was a case, as Lenin pointed out long ago, of compromise and "compromise". One, accepted by the workers in the face of the superior strength of the bosses and the reformist bureaucrats and proceeding from this to prepare for the next struggle; the other—a conspiracy between the bosses and the bureaucrats to betray the workers and to cheat them out of an almost certain victory. One was a phase of the class struggle; the other—of class collaboration and betrayal. Is this clear, gentlemen of the New Deal . . . No, we meant the *New Leader*?

Thomas may still believe in the Socialist possibilities of the New Deal but he cannot afford any more to say so in the face of the adopted Declaration of Principles. Thomas may still harbor the idea that Roosevelt is inspired by almost socialist sentiments; but he cannot, because of this idea, continue to keep the socialist workers from fighting hand in hand with the Communist workers against Roosevelt's "truce" which is cutting wages, raising prices, cutting relief, spilling workers' blood in strikes, depriving the workers of their rights, preparing for war, etc. Prior to the Detroit Convention of the Socialist Party it may have seemed to many that it was the Right Wing alone that stood in the way of the united front, but after that convention, which gave Thomas a majority in the National Committee, it began to look as though Thomas too shares responsibility. Now, after the referendum, the continued refusal of the Socialist Party to respond to the united front offers of the Com-

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munist Party *means Thomas' refusal.* It cannot mean anything else. Can Thomas afford to assume such a responsibility before the American working class? It was Thomas, wasn't it, who said prior to the Detroit Convention that the Socialist Party of America need not wait with the United Front upon the Second International. After the Detroit Convention, which gave Thomas the power in the S.P., it was the same Norman Thomas who said that the S.P. *should* wait upon the Second International. Furthermore, what specific excuse is there now for the S.P. to refuse the united front offer of the C.P. on the Spanish question, after the Second International has refused a formal offer of the Communist International to organize joint actions in support of the Spanish anti-fascist struggle? Will Thomas publicly assume responsibility for this? For it is clearly his responsibility now.

We know of several little schemes that are being developed by some leaders of the S.P., some of them "nice" schemes, others not so, of preventing or "obviating" the need of a united front with the Communists without appearing *too clearly* before the workers as saboteurs of the united front, so it is hoped. One of these schemes, now put into effect by the Young People's Socialist League in New York, no doubt under the tutelage of Gerber, is to insist upon the Trotzky sect being included in any united front with the Young Communist League. But the anti-labor nature of this tactic is altogether too transparent to deceive successfully. It is sufficient to raise this question to make the purpose of the maneuver, which is *anti*-united front, fully obvious. Do the Trotzkyites have any mass following? None whatever. Is the sect itself numerous? According to authentic information, the Trotzkyites in the United States, adult and youth, number a little over that of the French; and in France it consisted of the magnificent number of 101 strong. The American Trotzkyite sheet, which is read also by many curiosity seekers and some Musteites, is sold nationally and "internationally," about 1,700 copies an issue. Counting only numbers and "influence", the value of the Trotzkyites for a united front is a round zero. And if to this is added the "ideology" and counter-revolutionary program of the sect, with which no revolutionary worker will want anything to do, the "value" of this sect for a united front is a big negative. It is clear, therefore, that the leaders of the Yipsels insist upon "including" the Trotzkyites, not because of their number and mass importance, which is nil, but in order to utilize their special role as the most advanced detachment of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie against the Soviet Union. And in what way? *As mercenaries of the anti-united front leaders of the Yipsels.* Wherever the latter will not dare to appear too openly as the dis-

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rupters of the united front in fear of their following, they will send the Trotzkyite mercenaries "to do the job", the mercenaries that have nothing to lose, not even hope. Is it to be expected that the Young Communist League will join the leaders of the Yipsels in this criminal game against the united front? Obviously, not. It is time that the leaders of the Yipsels and their "wiser" elders realize that clearly.

Another scheme seeks to "obviate" the need of a united front with the Communists *by way of* the Socialist Party joining the American League Against War and Fascism. This no doubt sounds ludicrous: for is it not a fact that the Communist Party is the chief force fighting most energetically for the S.P. coming into the League? Surely, it is. And yet, such are the devious ways of anti-united front maneuvers: that an attempt is contemplated to utilize *against the united front* the very proposal of the Communist Party for the Socialist Party joining the united front. We must hasten, however, to assure the authors of this "clever" scheme that it won't work. It can't work, not for the united front. And for these reasons: Any policy must come to grief that proceeds to ignore the fact that the Communist Party of the United States is today the most important conscious and organized force in the united front struggle against war and fascism. All elements now in the League recognize, and most of them welcome, this fact. Obviously, if the S.P. decides to come into the League, as it should, and the sooner the better, but harbors the notion that it can do so and still continue to ignore the Communists, somebody is destined to a rude awakening. Certainly, *such* a coming into the League Against War and Fascism is not calculated to make the S.P. leadership (we don't speak of Dubinsky and Oneal) a positive contributing force in the united front. On the contrary, its efforts there, regardless of desire, must prove disruptive; and there is plenty of *disruptive* desire among certain elements in the S.P. Right wing. Besides, the coming of the S.P. into the League's leading committees, national and local, *must mean* participation of the locals of the Socialist Party in the daily struggles against war and fascism; and this means collaboration with the local Communist organizations, since the latter are now the very backbone of these united front actions. Are we to understand that the S.P. will join the League but will continue to prohibit its locals from working hand in hand with the Communists for the common aims embodied in the program of the League? It is hard to believe, but this is the meaning of the scheme under consideration. Furthermore, the League Against War and Fascism unanimously agreed at its Second Congress that a determined effort must be made to win more trade unions for League affiliation. This

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means primarily the unions of the A. F. of L. The Communists are waging an intensive campaign to accomplish this aim of the League. In view of this are we to understand that the S.P. will join the League but will continue to forbid its members in the unions to cooperate in a united front with the Communists to win these unions for the League? That is unbelievable but such is the logic of the scheme. It is clear, therefore, that the scheme of joining the League while continuing the old policy of opposition to a united front with the Communists—that this cannot and will not work, not for the united front against war and fascism.

In the struggle for the united front, which is a struggle for the unity of action of the American proletariat against the unfolding capitalist offensive, the struggle for the organization of the unorganized workers and for class struggle unionism under rank and file leadership assumes first rate importance. This flows from the fact that the revolutionary advance of the American masses expresses itself at present chiefly in growing strike struggles. Now more than ever revolutionary work in the unions is the central task of the Communists. But it will no longer do merely to recognize (and that mainly in words) that we must work in the unions of the A. F. of L. It is now necessary to turn to the work in the A. F. of L. unions *full face*. In a number of basic industries, such as, automobile, steel (as distinct from metal) and textile, work in the A. F. of L. unions has already become *the central task,* while in railroad it has been so for a considerable time. Elsewhere in this issue we discuss at length the Party's trade union policies. Here we only wish to emphasize that failure at the present time to adjust rapidly our work in the unions to the changed conditions would constitute a cardinal mistake not easily to be repaired.

In other industries, or branches of industries, such as, in metal, among the seamen, fur, etc., the conditions continue to be favorable for the growth of the unions of the T.U.U.L. Specific questions will arise as to what to do in various localities or branches of industry outside of those mentioned. These questions will have to be decided concretely, proceeding from our general orientation, on the basis of strength, relationship of forces, perspective, etc., in these localities. The struggle of the Party for Trade Union Unity must be intensified manifold along the lines of the Party's letter to the Convention of the A. F. of L. in San Francisco.

Already at the 8th Party Convention we have said (main resolution):

> "The work of building a revolutionary opposition in the A. F. of L. and Railroad Brotherhoods has assumed *greater importance* at the present time, and *in a number of industries the main task in our*

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trade union work (*miners, railroad, building*). In most industries it has become increasingly important (metal, textile, garment, etc.)" (Our emphasis.)

Events have proven the absolute correctness of these decisions. Events have shown in steel and textile also, in addition to mining, railroad and building, that it became necessary to consider our main task of trade union work in the unions of the A. F. of L. The development of our trade union policies along these lines arises from a number of changes in the situation. The first is the fact that the T.U.U.L. unions in these industries have not grown into mass organizations due principally to Right and sectarian errors in the building of these unions. Secondly, the universal failure to carry on *simultaneous* work in the unions of the American Federation of Labor, work which has only lately begun to improve slightly. Thirdly, the influx of large masses of workers, largely semi-skilled and unskilled, highly militant and in the process of deep radicalization, into the unions of the A. F. of L. in such industries as automobile, steel, aluminum, cement, and textile. Fourthly, the fear of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy to break up the federal unions lest they organize independently and under Communist leadership, and the consequent decision of the last A. F. of L. Convention to tolerate a certain degree of what they call "vertical" unionism among these newly organized workers. These developments produced a *two-sided* result: while the opportunities of Communist work among the masses through the unions of the T.U.U.L. in such industries as textile, automobile and steel, have decreased because of the stagnation of these unions, these opportunities in the respective unions of the A. F. of L. have increased to unprecedented dimensions. In these unions the situation is so mature that the *direct practical task* of the rank-and-file movements within them is the most intensive immediate campaign for the organization of the unorganized and the winning of the leadership of the local unions for the organized rank and file. Thus we must understand that we are carrying through the shift of the center of gravity to the unions of the A. F. of L. in the above specified industries not on a diminishing wave of radicalization and mass struggle but, on the contrary, *on a rising wave* of revolutionary mass actions. This it is that will determine the rapid rate of advance of the rank and file movements in these unions and the advance of Communist influence. The mass T.U.U.L. unions in the other industries have great tasks to perform and great possibilities for growth. The historic role of the M.W.I.U. (Marine) on the Pacific Coast in initiating the seamen's strike should serve as an example in this connection. We also point to the role of the M.W.I.U. on the Atlantic Seaboard where the recent strike,

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while insufficiently strong to win the demands of the seamen in the East, yet exerted a powerful influence as a contributory force (main force being the Pacific maritime strike and San Francisco General Strike) toward wresting favorable concessions from the Roosevelt Board in San Francisco for the maritime workers of the Pacific seacoast. Especially must we point out the achievements of the Fur Workers' Union of the T.U.U.L., the only mass union in the industry, which has fought for and achieved serious improvements in the conditions of the workers, revolutionizing their consciousness and struggles. Nor shall we fail to appreciate the role of the Metal Union of the T.U.U.L. in penetrating the industry, organizing the workers for struggle, etc. The further growth of these unions of the T.U.U.L. will not only strengthen the workers in these industries but will continue to serve as successful examples of class struggle unions to be emulated by the rank and file oppositions in the unions of the A. F. of L., to fight for the transformation of these organizations into unions of class struggle.

The unfolding attack upon the relief services, and the Roosevelt-Green maneuvers against unemployment insurance, will arouse the unemployed workers and the employed, to wider and more militant struggles. The Party organization must orientate itself on preparing and leading mass unemployed struggles of great militancy and determination. The united front must be hammered out daily also in this vital sector of the class struggle.

The fight for Negro rights is bound for a great upswing. The "New Deal" is coming daily into the sharpest collision with the most burning interests of the widest Negro masses, whom we must mobilize for determined struggle. The recent developments in the Scottsboro case show the need for such a perspective.

The celebration of the 17th anniversary of the October Revolution should serve as a fresh stimulus to the further unfolding of our struggle for the united front, *for the winning of the decisive sections of the membership of the A. F. of L.* Without a determined struggle for this objective, the slogan of Soviet Power —our chief slogan—remains an empty phrase.

Let us emulate the example of our brother Party in the Soviet Union. Under its leadership the toiling masses of the U.S.S.R., headed by the proletariat, will soon complete the second year of the Second Five-Year Plan. The results indicate an unchanging record of growth of industrial production, month by month, a growth of the number of workers employed in industry and an improvement in their conditions. The growth of industrial production in the first half-year of 1934 was 20 per cent higher as compared with the corresponding period of 1933. In agriculture,

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the growth of the well-being of the peasant collectives and their members is proceeding apace, the technique and effectiveness of socialized agriculture making great progress. The growth of the general well-being of the socialist toilers of the Soviet Union is registering higher and higher marks. All these achievements are attained under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Comrade Stalin.

The Communist Party of the United States is confronted with different immediate tasks but it can and must aspire to being able to display qualities of leadership of the kind which made the Bolshevik Party the leading Party of the Communist International. This is, in the first instance, given the correct policy which we have, to win and organize the masses for revolutionary struggle. The objective situation in the country, and the revolutionary moods of the masses, offer the most favorable conditions for the fulfillment of this task, and the tactic of the united front presents the chief weapon for this work. At the same time, we must greatly improve our Party organization, increase our ranks in the present recruiting drive, and raise the ideological level of our membership.

Follow in the path of the October Revolution led by the Bolsheviks. For Soviet Power in the United States.

Build the United Front and the revolutionary counter-offensive against the new capitalist offensive and the New Deal and Fascism.

Fight for the winning of the decisive sections of the American proletariat. For the winning of the decisive sections of the membership of the A. F. of L.

Build the Communist Party into a mass Party. Intensify the recruiting drive among the best strikers and mass leaders of the American proletariat.

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The International Character of the October Revolution

(From *The October Revolution*, by Joseph Stalin)

BY sowing the seeds of revolution, both in the centers of imperialism and in its rear, by weakening the power of imperialism in the "mother countries" and undermining its domination in the colonies, the October Revolution has jeopardized the very existence of world capitalism *as a whole*.

While the spontaneous development of capitalism in the conditions of imperialism has grown over—owing to its unevenness, owing to the inevitability of conflicts and armed clashes, owing, finally, to the unprecedented imperialist staughter—into the process of the "decay" and the "withering away" of capitalism, the October Revolution and the resultant secession of an enormous country from the world system of capitalism could not but accelerate this process, washing away, bit by bit, the very foundations of world imperialism.

More than that. In undermining imperialism, the October Revolution concomitantly established a powerful and open *base* for the world revolutionary movement, represented by the first proletarian dictatorship, a base which it *never had before* and on which it can now rely. It created that powerful and open *center* of the world revolutionary movement which it *never possessed* before and around which it now can rally and organize *a united revolutionary front of the proletarians and of the oppressed nations of all countries against imperialism.*

This means, first of all, that the October Revolution inflicted a mortal wound on world capitalism, a wound from which it will never recover. It is precisely for this reason that capitalism will never recover the "equilibrium", the "stability" that it possessed prior to October. Capitalism may become partly stabilized, it may rationalize its production, turn over the administration of the country to fascism, hold the working class down for a while, but it will never recover the "tranquility", the "assurance", the "equilibrium" and the "stability" that it flaunted before, for the crisis of world capitalism has reached the stage of development where the flames of revolution are bound to break through, now in the centers of imperialism, now in the periphery, reducing to naught the capitalist

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patchwork and daily bringing the fall of capitalism nearer. Exactly as we find it in the famous fable: "Pull the donkey's tail out of the mire, and his nose will be stuck in it; pull out the nose and his tail will be in it".

This means, in the second place, that the October Revolution raised the force, the relative importance, the courage and the preparedness of the oppressed class of the whole world to a certain level, forcing the ruling classes to reckon with them as a *new*, an important factor. Now it is no longer possible to look upon the toiling masses of the world as a "blind mob", groping in the dark, devoid of all prospects, for the October Revolution raised a beacon for them which illumines their path and gives them prospects. Whereas formerly there was no *world-embracing* open forum where the aspirations and ambitions of the oppressed classes could be expounded and formulated, now such a forum exists in the form of the first proletarian dictatorship.

There is hardly room for doubt that the destruction of this forum would cast the gloom of unbridled dark reaction for a long time to come over the social and political life of the "progressive countries." It is impossible to deny that the mere fact of the existence of a "Bolshevik State" exercises a restraining influence on the dark forces of reaction, thus facilitating the struggle of the oppressed classes for their liberation. This, properly speaking, explains the brutal hatred which the exploiters of all countries feel for the Bolsheviks. History repeats itself, though on a new basis. Just as formerly, during the period of the fall of *feudalism* the word "Jacobin" evoked horror and loathing among the aristocrats of all countries, so now in the period of the fall of *capitalism*, the word "Bolshevik" evokes horror and loathing in bourgeois countries. And *vice versa*, just as formerly Paris was a place of refuge and school for the revolutionary representatives of the rising *bourgeoisie*, so now Moscow is the place of refuge and school for the revolutionary representatives of the rising *proletariat*. Hatred for the Jacobins did not save feudalism from foundering. Can there be any doubt that harted for the Bolsheviks will not save capitalism from inevitable perdition?

The era of the "stabilization" of capitalism *has gone*, taking along with it the legend of the unshakable character of the bourgeois order.

The era of the downfall of capitalism *has begun*.

The October Revolution is not only a revolution in the domain of economic and social-political relations. It is at the same time a revolution in the minds, a revolution in the ideology, of the working class. The October Revolution was born and strengthened under the flag of Marxism, under the banner of the idea of the dictator-

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ship of the proletariat, under the flag of Leninism, which is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and of proletarian revolutions. It marks, therefore, the victory of Marxism over reformism, the victory of Leninism over social-democracy, the victory of the Third International over the Second International.

The October Revolution erected an impassable barrier between Marxism and social-democracy, between the policy of Leninism and the policy of social-democracy. Formerly, *prior to the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat,* social-democracy could disport the flag of Marxism without openly repudiating the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but at the same time without doing anything whatsoever to bring the realization of this idea nearer, for such behavior on the part of social-democracy did not jeopardize capitalism in the least. Then, in that period, social-democracy was formally merged, or almost merged, with Marxism. Now, *after the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat,* when it became patent to all *whither* Marxism leads, *what* its victory could mean, social-democracy was no longer able to disport the flag of Marxism, could no longer flirt with the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat without putting capitalism in jeopardy to a certain extent. Having long ago broken with the spirit of Marxism, it found itself forced to break also with the flag of Marxism, it openly and unambiguously took the stand against the October Revolution, the offspring of Marxism, against the first dictatorship of the proletariat in the world. Now it had to, and really did, dissociate itself from Marxism, for under present conditions it is impossible to call oneself a Marxist without openly and self-sacrificingly supporting the first proletarian dictatorship in the world, without conducting a revolutionary struggle against one's own bourgeoisie, without creating the conditions for the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one's own country. A chasm opened up between social-democracy and Marxism. Henceforth, the *only* exponent and bulwark of Marxism will be Leninism, Communism.

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Our Trade Union Policy

By JACK STACHEL

(*Report to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee.*)

THE report of Comrade Toth shows that in comparison with previous conventions of the A. F. of L., we can record progress and that the fifteen delegates who supported our program there reflected the increasing work which we are carrying on in the A. F. of L. and the favorable basis for our work. I do not think it necessary to spend time comparing our present modest successes with our achievements in the past when we almost entirely neglected work in the A. F. of L. Rather, if we are to make comparisons we should compare these successes with the position which we *should* occupy in the A. F. of L. in view of the fact that the large masses of workers are moving through and struggling under the banner of the A. F. of L. organizations.

This is now our problem. Only the drawing of such comparisons will be profitable. In this connection we have first to determine where and to what extent we have to change our tactics in certain industries in order politically to mobilize and concentrate our forces for work among these A. F. of L. workers.

Secondly, we have to take measures to educate the entire Party to understand these policies. Thirdly, we must take the necessary organizational measures to carry through these policies. This means to get the Party membership fully into the trade unions, to strengthen our Party base by further recruiting of A. F. of L. workers, and to build the apparatus to lead the work from top to bottom.

I want to deal mainly with the question of our trade-union policy, where and to what degree we have made and must modify further our tactics in order to achieve our main objective. Our tactics are based on the objective conditions which we face at a given moment, and it is necessary to analyze this moment before we can undertake a review of our tactics and tasks. At this moment a wholesale attack of the bourgeoisie against the working class and working-class organizations is rapidly developing. We have already correctly stated in the 8th Party Convention Resolution the position of the capitalists and the capitalist Government on the question of trade-union organization, pointing out that the main policy of the ruling class is to prevent the growth of trade unions and to

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promote the organization of company unions, especially in the basic industries.

At the same time we pointed out where and under what conditions they are willing to bring forward the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, A. F. of L. organization, to carry through their class-collaboration policy and facilitate their attacks on the working class.

The policy of the whole government apparatus, and of the whole ruling class, is today more openly and more cynically one of attack on the trade unions and for the open-shop and company-union drive. This, of course, goes hand-in-hand with and arises from the attempts to lower wages, to worsen working conditions, and, especially, to fight against the rising struggles of the workers which have already assumed the character of offensive where workers are seriously undertaking the fight for the 30-hour week without reduction in wages, for union recognition, and the like.

As proof of this growing attack, we can cite the announced Roosevelt "truce" which in reality means that the government policy will be more open and brutal in suppressing strikes, and for compulsory arbitration and company unions. It was expressed in the declaration of "truce" in the textile industry after the strike had been broken with the aid of the Government. The application for an injunction against the longshoremen's union in New York; the preparation of a new wage-cut for the steel workers; the decision made by the District of Columbia Court declaring unconstitutional the Railway Pension Bill which affects a million railroad workers; the recent statements of Richberg and others that Section 7A is incompatible with a closed or union shop; the most recent efforts of General Motors to sell their company union to the workers; the blackmail threat of the Atlantic & Pacific Co., to close their stores in Cleveland are signs of the developing offensive on the workers' living standards and their trade unions.

If we ask what steps were taken at the convention by the A. F. of L. bureaucracy in the face of this attack, then the real character of the 54th Convention becomes clear. Can we say that the Convention with Green and Co. took measures really to mobilize the masses in struggle against this attack? We have no grounds for such an assertion, notwithstanding the fact that under the pressure of the rank-and-file movement, which is growing in the A. F. of L., they were compelled to use many "Left" phrases, even to make certain concessions on the question of industrial unions.

These concessions, including the decision to allow the organization of a national auto workers' union without breaking up the federal locals into the various craft unions, and to organize international unions in aluminum and cement, were

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made because they knew they could not get away with the old policy, that the workers would leave the A. F. of L. rather than permit themselves to be dismembered. The endorsement of the 30-hour week is a result of the pressure of the workers for the shorter work-day and is also an attempt on the part of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy to defeat the movement for unemployment insurance. Under the leadership of Green and Co. the 30-hour week can become a means of cutting the real wages of the workers. We must everywhere insist upon the 30-hour week without reduction of weekly earnings. In spite of these and other forced concessions and "Left" phrases, the basic policy of the Convention is one of reliance upon the N.R.A., of opposition to strikes, of strengthening its class-collaboration program through more representation on the N.R.A. boards, and of an attack, even though not made a dramatic part of the Convention, against the Communists and all militants, and of an expulsion policy. *This is the way the A. F. of L. bureaucracy is meeting the developing capitalist attack.*

It is clear that a serious fight against the capitalist offensive on the conditions of the workers, and to make the trade unions into instruments of the workers will be undertaken only by the Communists in an alliance with all militant forces, basing themselves on the tremendous radicalization among the masses in general as well as in the A. F. of L., their desire to fight back, and even to develop further the counter-offensive against the bosses. *This clearly sets the basic task which our Party faces in trade union work.*

That the workers are not ready to accept these conditions without a struggle is shown in the textile industry where Gorman was compelled to admit the growth of the re-strike movement. There is also evidence that the steel workers are moving forward and at least the most active workers are preparing for the coming struggle. A large section of the workers are already preparing for struggle, and although not entirely free from N.R.A. illusions, are more and more beginning to understand that, contrary to the decisions of the A. F. of L. Convention, only through open struggle, organization and strike, through depending on their own strength and force, will they be able to meet the onslaught of the capitalists, gain better conditions, and maintain and strengthen their organizations.

With this immediate objective situation, let us approach a number of questions in our trade-union policy which either need restatement, emphasis, or further clarification.

In the recent year or year and a half, we have (very often with great hesitation, as in the mining field) changed our tactics when confronted with changed objective situations, or changed relation of forces. That was the case in the mining industry where we

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began to consider our work as being primarily in the United Mine Workers in which the workers were organized. We have made similar changes in other industries, such as in textile just prior to and during the course of the recent strike. We are now carrying through a similar policy in the dress industry and are changing our tactics to conform with the needs of the situation in the steel and auto industries. In a number of industries (railroad, printing, building trades, etc.), where the old unions have remained mass organizations, the Party policy throughout the whole period was one of work inside these unions. The Party opposed tendencies to build parallel unions in these industries. In a number of industries that until recently were totally unorganized and in which federal locals affiliated to the A. F. of L. have now been established (rubber, aluminum, etc.), the Party's policy is to work within and instill these organizations with a militant spirit and toward the formation of national industrial unions through the unification of these federal locals.

The changes made necessary in our trade union tactics have raised a number of important questions. Among these are the following:

1. Where is our main basis for work at present—in the A. F. of L., the T.U.U.L., or the independent unions?

2. The second question, which is closely connected with the first is: What is the future of the T.U.U.L. organization?

3. What of the independent unions that have arisen and the slogan raised in our Convention Trade Union Resolution—*Independent Federation of Labor?*

Other questions grow out of the first:

1. Shall we call upon the unorganized workers to join the A. F. of L. unions?

2. Can successful struggles be conducted through the A. F. of L. organizations?

3. Does not the present change of tactics constitute a revision of our former line?

4. What perspective have we in the A. F. of L.?

On a number of these questions, something more must be said than was stated in the Party Convention Resolution on Trade Union work. This is made necessary and possible by the development of events since the beginning of the year. But before answering these questions, I would like to re-state the main line of the Party on trade union work, on the basis of the program and aims of the Party, until the overthrow of capitalism, irrespective of changed situations which necessitate a change in tactics.

Our basic task in trade union work, as Communists, is to organize and lead the masses in struggle for their immediate economic

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and political needs, and, in the course of these struggles, on the basis of the workers' experiences, aided and guided by bringing forward the program of our Party, to revolutionize these masses, to mobilize them for the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. Thus, there is no contradiction between the fight for the immediate needs of the masses and the fight for the abolition of capitalism. On the contrary, precisely because we direct our fight against the capitalist system itself, we are able to estimate all the forces in each struggle and know how to mobilize the working class and its allies in support of the struggle for the immediate needs of the masses. In recent years the Comintern has greatly emphasized the fact that especially in the present period of crisis, the economic struggle is the fundamental link to the development of the revolutionary struggle of the workers. Such struggles as we mentioned can be carried on successfully only on the basis of the development of the broadest united front of the workers; through the fight for class trade-union unity, which in itself implies a struggle against the treacherous trade-union bureaucracy and the organization of the economic struggle over the heads of the leaders—what we term, *independent leadership*. It is in these fundamental aims that we differ from the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and the reformist Socialists.

These have been and remain our chief considerations in trade-union work. These have been our considerations throughout the Party's existence, in its trade union work. Our tactics, on the other hand, depending on the objective situation, have undergone changes at various times, especially our tactics relating to organization work, the relation of work in the reformist unions, and the building of new unions. In working out these tactics we have always been guided by the experiences of the Comintern and the teachings of Lenin which (emphasized clearly, and especially embodied, as we all know, in the famous pamphlet *Left-Wing Communism*) show us the necessity of not neglecting, as Communists, work in the reactionary trade unions, of not abandoning the masses in them to the bureaucrats, of not building "pure" unions of revolutionaries or Communists, but, at the same time, of not becoming victims of "unity at any cost" (Thesis, Second Congress, Comintern).

> "But the German 'Left' Communists are guilty of just this stupidity when, because of the reactionary and counter-revolutionary character of the *heads* of the trade unions, they jump to the conclusion that it is necessary to leave the trade unions, to refuse to work in them, to create new, *fantastic* forms of labor organizations. . . . To refuse to work in the reactionary unions means leaving the insufficiently developed or backward working masses under the influence of the reactionary leaders, agents of the bourgeoisie, etc.
>
> "There can be no doubt that Messieurs the Gomperses, Hendersons,

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> Jouhaux, Legiens and the like, are very grateful to such 'Left' revolutionaries, who, like the German opposition 'on principle' (heaven preserve us from such 'principles') or like some revolutionaries of the American Industrial Workers of the World, advocate leaving the trade unions and refusing to work in them. Undoubtedly Messieurs, the 'leaders' of opportunism will resort to every trick of bourgeois diplomacy, to aid the bourgeois governments, the priests, the police, and the courts, in order to prevent Communists from getting into the trade unions, to force them out by every means, to make their work in the trade unions as unpleasant as possible, to insult, to hound and persecute them. It is necessary to be able to withstand all this, to agree to any and every sacrifice, and even—if need be—to resort to all sorts of devices, maneuvers, and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuge, in order to penetrate into the trade unions, to remain in them, and carry on Communist work in them at all costs."—(LENIN, *"Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder*).

From the above follows our tactic of working within the A. F. of L. unions under all difficulties where they have organized masses of workers.

> "Placing the object and the essence of labor organizations before them, the Communists should not hesitate before a split in such organizations if a refusal to split would mean the abandoning of the revolutionary work in the trade unions, and the giving up of the attempt to make them instruments of the revolutionary class struggle, the attempt to organize the most exploited part of the proletariat." (Thesis of the Second Congress of the C.I. on the trade union movement.)

From this follows our tactic of organizing new unions because of the refusal of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats to allow the organization of the unorganized, and their policy of mass expulsions.

These two considerations have served our Party as the basis for the development of our trade-union tactics in the various stages of development of the class struggle and the labor movement.

In general, the trade-union tactics of our Party have passed through the following stages of development: (a) The period of 1919-1921, when our policy was largely a sectarian one, bearing the imprint of DeLeonism and I.W.W.ism. This does not mean that there were not Party members carrying on work in the A. F. of L. unions, but that "infantile sickness" marked this whole early period of the gathering of the forces towards the Communist movement. It was only with the help and under the constant guidance of the Comintern, together with pressure from the old experienced trade-union cadres gathered around Comrade Foster, that the Party moved beyond this stage. (b) The period of 1922-1927 when

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the basic line of the Party was to work within the A. F. of L. unions and the other mass trade unions (Railroad Brotherhoods, A.C.W.). (c) The period from 1928 to 1933 when the Party policy was to concentrate on organizing the unorganized, especially those in basic industries, into new unions, while at the same time carrying on work in the mass unions of the A. F. of L.

Now we are face to face with a new turn in the labor movement marked by a great upsurge of the working masses, a great growth of trade-union organization, taking primarily the channel of the A. F. of L. This, as we have already indicated, is the reason for our present policy of putting the main emphasis on work in the A. F. of L. unions. We shall deal only with the developments of our trade-union work which called for a turn in our tactics in 1927-1928 and again in the present period.

The independent unions which existed, or the I.W.W., played an insignificant role in the post-war strike wave. Following the big struggles of 1922 in which the workers were defeated, the bourgeoisie developed a broad offensive against the trade unions. The trade-union bureaucracy surrendered completely and went over to more open and more treacherous class-collaboration policies. For a while the unions remained broad mass organizations in many of the basic industries. It was the policy of the Left Wing and the Communists at that time to develop the unions, to strengthen them, to defeat the bureaucrats and wrest control from them, to try to convert the unions into real instruments of class struggle, and to organize the unorganized.

About 1925, it became clear that the policy of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy made it impossible for the Left Wing to carry through its main tactic of organizing the unorganized and of strengthening the whole front of labor through the A. F. of L. Millions of new members, especially from the basic industries, were driven out of the unions through the open-shop drive of the employers and the expulsion and splitting policy of the bureaucrats. The bureaucracy surrendered position after position. In place of strikes, it developed labor banking, insurance schemes, the B. & O. Plan form of class-collaboration, etc. During this period of so-called "prosperity", for the first time in the history of the American labor movement, the unions declined. However, not until 1927-1928, after the smashing of the U.M.W.A., did we clearly formulate our policy and take the necessary next step in organizing the unorganized, which was boldly to undertake the building of new unions, especially in basic industries that were unorganized.

In this period, the ruling class, utilizing the beginning of a very serious depression and the weakness and demoralized condition of

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the trade unions, initiated a wage-cutting, union-smashing drive. They succeeded partially, with the aid of the bureaucracy, in smashing the United Mine Workers of America, which, throughout a period when the A. F. of L. was composed largely of craft unions of the skilled, had remained a basic mass organization of hundreds of thousands, and was the strongest and most militant organization in the A. F. of L. That the capitalist class was unable to weaken further and destroy completely the trade unions at that time, was due to the fact that the Left Wing was already challenging the bureaucracy within the A. F. of L. and was raising the slogan of new unions.

While some steps toward organizing the unorganized had already been taken before 1928, it was not until the meeting of the Central Committee in May of that year that the policy on building new unions was clearly formulated. The resolution calling for this turn in our trade union work was adopted unanimously by the Central Committee, which, by the way, then included the leader of the Lovestone group, Jay Lovestone, and the leader of the American Trotzkyists, Jim Cannon. These gentlemen howl hypocritically that the Party has been following a policy of "dual unionism" and denounce the new unions in principle. A few quotations from the unanimously adopted resolution will fully expose the degeneration of these elements, their opportunist policy, and unprincipled methods. They will also make clear that the policies of our Party have nothing in common with dual unionism; that the Party developed its trade union tactics on the basis of Leninism; and that the new unions were developed for the following reasons: (a) to organize the unorganized, which the A. F. of L. bureaucracy refused to do; (b) because of the expulsion of tens of thousands of workers from the A. F. of L. unions; (c) because of the urge for organization among the unorganized masses. These quotations will further prove that the policy laid down called simultaneously for continuance and intensification of our work among the masses remaining in the old unions. We quote from the May, 1928, resolution:

> "The A. F. of L. unions, comprising principally skilled workers and dominated by the hopelessly reactionary Green bureaucracy, are more and more clearly demonstrating their inability to organize the great masses of workers in their struggle against the employers and the State. The breakdown of the miners' union in the face of the employers' offensive, coming in the train of a steady weakening of the labor movement in its most strategic sections, throws the very life of the trade union movement into jeopardy.
>
> ". . . The trade union leadership, confronted by this growing attack, hopes to maintain at least a semblance of organization, to serve their particular group interests, by a policy of complete sur-

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render to the employers by company-unionizing the trade unions and degenerating them into auxiliaries of the capitalists' exploiting mechanism. . . . The trade unions, shrinking in numbers, reduced principally to the labor aristocracy, increasingly dominated by ultra-reactionary leaders driven from the basic into lighter industries, become less and less a weapon in the hands of the workers and more and more an instrument of the employers against the working class."

Lovestone and Cannon must admit that either they never believed in this resolution and therefore acted as hypocrites and unprincipled maneuvers in supporting it, or that they made a mistake when they voted for the resolution. But this would be to admit that they are not infallible. They have never acknowledged having made an error although they now parade as opponents in principle to new unions. Lovestone denies that objective conditions were at the basis of the policy. He charges the Party with deserting Lenin and adopting the policy of DeLeon.

Let us quote again from the same resolution:

"The fact is our policy is based on A. F. of L. unions only in those industries and crafts where they have real mass organizations. In industries where the unions are decrepit or dying such as shoe, textile, needle, marine, transport, mining, steel, etc., our policy is based either entirely upon independent unions or increasingly so. In wholy unorganized industries such as rubber, automobile, packing, etc., our policy is to support the formation of new unions.

". . . When the old unions had a much wider mass base, when they were the chief organs of struggle of the workers, it was correct that our Party concentrate its main attention upon working within and through them. . . . But as their base narrows . . . the necessity for our Party to concentrate its *major* attention upon building *new unions* among the unorganized masses becomes manifest." (emphasis mine, J. S.)

Lovestone and Company have recently begun a new "offensive" on the Party trade-union line with mountains of quotations filling the pages of their paper. Well, here are a few quotations that speak for themselves. They give the best answer to all the lies and slanders of the Lovestoneites who are operating on the theory that their followers have long forgotten or do not know the history of the Party. The Lovestoneites, whose whole line has been proved bankrupt, try to hide under a barrage of lies and slanders. They would have their followers believe that their trade-union policy was always correct and the Party policy was always wrong. The facts here show that while Lovestone and Company were still in the Party they did not openly come out against the turn in 1928. It was only after they became the open agents of Dubinsky and Company that they fully exposed their Right line on this question, and the correctness of carrying on a struggle against them was con-

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firmed. Bert Wolfe, who passes sleepless nights fearing the Party has suppressed Lenin's writings on the trade-union question, and who daily invents new lies and slanders in the service of Dubinsky and Company, wrote as late as December, 1928, that one of the symptoms of the Right danger in the American Party was "Insufficient energy in organizing the unorganized . . . hesitancy on the part of some comrades on the question of the need of organization of a new textile union" (*The Communist*, Dec., 1928). The National Miners Union (organized September, 1928), the National Textile Workers Union (October, 1928), and the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union (January, 1929) were formed while Lovestone was still Secretary of the Party. What convenient lapses of memory one acquires in the service of Dubinsky, Gorman and Company!

The line of the Party in 1927-1928 was correct. It was based on the changed objective situation. This policy of building new unions did not in the least conflict with work in the A. F. of L. unions. The May, 1928, resolution on this question was in agreement with that of the Comintern which stated:

> "Together with this it is absolutely necessary for Communists to continue and strengthen their activity in the trade unions affiliated to the reactionary A. F. of L. in order to form there a strong Left Wing."

Until now, notwithstanding objective difficulties and our failure always to understand the policy and apply it correctly, the unions of the T.U.U.L. have performed a very positive role in the labor movement. They led the outstanding strikes of the period through 1933 and were responsible in many situations in checking the drive against the workers when, under the Hoover-Green agreement, the capitalists developed their attack without any resistance from the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. It is true, however, that with some notable exceptions, such as in the fur and other industries, we were unable to develop our unions into broad mass organizations of a stable character.

The causes for this are many. We shall mention only a few:

1. It is not a simple matter to build unions in basic trustified industries, such as steel, and automobile. And the new unions not only faced the fiercest attack from the employers and the government, *but also from the A. F. of L. bureaucracy.*

2. The Comintern repeatedly warned us against certain sectarian tendencies that crept into the T.U.U.L. unions and hampered their development, but we were often slow in overcoming these tendencies. Similarly, work within the A. F. of L. unions was largely neglected, especially in those industries where these unions

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existed parallel with the new unions. The Comintern called upon the Party to put an end to this neglect, which is finally being overcome. It is only in the last two years that the Party has been seriously re-organizing opposition work in the A. F. of L. unions. This neglect of work in the A. F. of L. unions hindered the development and growth of the new unions.

3. Important reasons for more progress not being made in the new unions were the failure to develop the necessary forms and methods of work (concentration on main industries and factories, systematic work in the factories, etc.), neglect of taking up the problems of the Negro workers, women and young workers, etc. These weaknesses can be summarized as remnants of A. F. of L.-ism. At the same time a wrong application of correct policies was often made (on industrial unions, craft problems, etc.)

4. The T.U.U.L. unions also suffered from the fact that practically every one of them (mining, textile, needle), was born after the capitalists had succeeded in defeating the workers in the major economic struggles. Further, the onrush of the economic crisis, which followed almost immediately the formation of the T.U.U.L. in a period when all unions declined, also found us unprepared. We did not understand at once how to utilize the crisis situation, the question of unemployment, the combination of unemployed work and work in the factories.

But, notwithstanding these weaknesses of the new unions, they were, throughout the crisis period, until the recent wave of trade-union organization, the main instrument in the struggle of the workers, just as in 1927-1928 the mere raising of the slogan and the fight for the new unions helped to check the offensive against the trade-union movement. The new unions led the majority of the strikes, (it is true they were small in number), including the outstanding strikes of the period (textile and mining). They played an important role in preparing the ground for the general move toward organization of the workers, and no small credit is due them for initiating and developing the struggles of 1933.

In the first stages of mass organization in the 1933 period the masses entered all sorts of unions. The workers took seriously the statement that they had the right to join unions of their choice. Large numbers joined the A. F. of L. unions to which they were attracted by broad propaganda and the fact that the A. F. of L. is the largest basic organization of workers and is supported by sections of the bourgeoisie and the Government. But hundreds of thousands of them also joined the independent and T.U.U.L. unions. In the steel industry the T.U.U.L. union drew in tens of thousands of workers and led such important struggles as that at

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Ambridge. No struggle of the recent period up to that time, was so brutally suppressed as the Ambridge strike.

The workers began to see the emptiness of the talk about a union of their choice in the fact that the unions of the T.U.U.L. were practically illegalized at all code hearings, etc. Where the employers were confronted with the danger of union they always made blocs with the bureaucrats, bringing the A. F. of L. in from the top. It is now clear that, while there has been some falling off of organization in all unions, the A. F. of L. unions remain mass organizations, and that the workers organized and led most of the strikes of last year through the A. F. of L. Just as the breaking up of the United Mine Workers marked the decline of the A. F. of L., the rebuilding of the U.M.W.A., the I.L.G.W.U., etc., are indications of the re-growth of the A. F. of L., which now embraces large sections of workers in the basic industries.

But even this leaves some problems unclear. We say, for example, that we do not attempt to organize the T.U.U.L. unions in those industries that are more or less well organized. In railroad, printing, and in many of the building trades, we never attempted to organize new unions. Only where the masses were largely unorganized or where we could not conduct struggles through the old unions, did we attempt to build new unions.

We entered steel, on this basis, as an unorganized industry. At the Party Convention we recognized certain changes in the situation and changed our tactic. In the Party Convention Resolution we stated quite definitely that systematic A. F. of L. work is more urgent than ever and must be directed in the first place towards the basic industries. We went even a step further and mentioned that this is the *main* task in certain industries while in others we spoke of an *increasing task*. But we still pointed out that in the textile, steel, and auto industries, side by side with work in the A. F. of L. we must try to build the T.U.U.L. unions. Until recently we went no further than that. We now find we must go a step further, because we cannot base our calculations only on the numerical strength of this or that union in a given industry. In the steel or auto industry such calculations would lead us astray. There are about three hundred thousand workers in the steel industry. I do not think at any time the A. F. of L. has had even pledge cards from more than one hundred thousand. The dues payments to the National Office of the A. F. of L. Council are very small. At the convention they had about five or six thousand, but the figures are very misleading. We know that many locals with hundreds of members pay only enough per capita to maintain their charter and keep the money in their own treasury or have no money because

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their dues are small. We have no exact information on membership in the A.A. All our reports from the field indicate that some forty to fifty thousand workers still consider themselves members of the A.A. Except for a small number who are the henchmen of the bureaucrats, those members who attend meetings even under the pressure of the company unions, are the most active elements of the working class, native American workers, who, when they move, move the mass with them. They are the key strata. There can be no doubt that it is these workers in the A.A. who will set the coming struggle in motion and that the A. F. of L. organization will serve as the vehicle for the struggle. Therefore, the question facing us is how we are to approach the problem of the coming struggle in steel.

We have some forces and strength much larger than our organizations would indicate. Through our language press and mass organizations, we have a tremendous influence, but we have not yet won the key strata. If we were to throw our forces into the A.A. organization, they, together with those within the A.A. who now follow us, and those we shall win to our side, would serve as a source of great strength. The same holds true in the auto industry where the situation is a little more complicated by the existance of the M.E.S.A. and the Greer movement which is leading a split in the direction of a company union. We had to decide in auto for a tactic similar to that in steel where the main problem was to get all our people in the A. F. of L. and we are attempting actually to do it.

In the Party Convention Resolution we stated that in industries where the masses belong to the A. F. of L. and no other union exists, we shall call upon the workers to join the A. F. of L. What can we say at this moment? We must repeat that this question can be answered concretely only on the basis of our tactics and tasks in each industry. In steel, if our policy is at the moment to bring all steel workers into the A.A. and to work exclusively through the A.A., then on the basis of the Party Resolution our line is already clear. We must call upon the workers to join the A.A. because our object is to organize and unify the workers, to lead them in struggle against the employers and the company union over the heads of the bureaucrats. And when we organize these workers, we are organizing the opposition against Mike Tighe, Green, and Company.

Take, for example, town B———. In B——— where we once had several thousand members we now have no organization because of the terror. But we have tremendous influence there. The A.A. has not attempted, or has not succeeded, in building a mass organization in B———, but neither can our comrades build a mass union of the Steel and Metal Union. We *can* build a rela-

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tively strong union of the A.A. in B——— if we undertake to do it. What would happen if we were to bring in a few thousand workers from B———? Would we be strengthening Mike Tighe? I do not think so. I think here you have the best example of this argument.

In the auto industry, we have a similar problem in the X plant. There is no A. F. of L. or any other organization there. When we decided against building the independent auto union, the question arose whether or not to build the A. F. of L. in the X plant. We have many Party members, some members of the A.W.U., and great influence there. I do not say we can organize thousands of workers in the X plant into the A. F. of L. union at once, but with some effort we can organize five hundred or a thousand in a short time with our Party fraction and influence. And would we not become a big force in the auto industry if the X plant stands with us? If we have the influence and the lead over the local of five hundred or a thousand workers and come to a convention, would we not play an important role there? We would not be strengthening but weakening the bureaucrats, and we strengthen the struggle of the masses under our leadership when we organize the unorganized into the A. F. of L. unions *under these conditions.*

Another question which could be raised in this connection is: Will it be possible to organize a struggle after we bring these workers into the A. F. of L.? Let us take the longshoremen's struggle in San Francisco, as an example of such a tactic. Surely Green and Ryan did not want a strike. We do not change our opinion of Green and Company when we decide upon the main policy of work in the A. F. of L. On the contrary, it is because we are convinced they are such treacherous agents of the bourgeoisie that we go in and fight against them. We played an important role in organizing the longshoremen's union, and in developing the struggle against great odds. Because of the influence we had established among the marine workers, the longshoremen achieved important gains, even though they were compelled to accept a form of arbitration as a result of the betrayal of the General Strike. Compare these gains with the results of struggles which took place where the Gormans were in control (textile), or the renegade Trotzkyists (Minneapolis)! Where the workers could have won all their demands, these gentlemen voluntarily accepted arbitration and betrayed the workers.

Can we mention a single other arbitration case in recent history where the workers gained as much as here? Certainly not! Why? Because under the leadership of the Communists, the strikers demonstrated to the employers that any attempt to put over their policy

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would be met by further resistance. This struggle, which involved a basic industry, was a fierce one with the whole capitalist class mobilized against the workers. The San Francisco strike proves that it is not only possible for the Communists to organize and lead struggles in the A. F. of L. unions but that it is possible to win the struggles. If the Left Wing is able to mobilize and lead the workers in struggle within the A. F. of L. it can convert A. F. of L. organizations into instruments of struggle. Certainly if it is left to Green and Company they will increasingly attempt to use the A. F. of L. apparatus as an auxiliary force for carrying through the policy of the capitalist class.

In the textile industry, we have decided on a policy of merging the textile union with the U.T.W. In the mining industry this is an established policy. In the steel, automobile, and longshore industries, this is our policy. It is different among the seamen, where we attempt to build the Marine Workers Industrial Union as well as the opposition. If we examine the basic industries of the country, all the industries where we never attempted to build new unions, and, after this, the federal locals of rubber, aluminum, etc., we shall see that we must go a step further and state that *the whole objective situation and development of the struggle demands that the Party establish its main policy today as one of work inside and building the opposition within the A. F. of L. unions.*

When the working class moves it does not move tens of millions, all at once. The most advanced section of the workers moves first, and those more able to move because of favorable circumstances. It was, for example, easier to act in certain lighter and more competitive industries than in the basic trustified industries, where the workers face more odds. Large masses are moving, not yet tens of millions, *but they are moving, for a number of reasons, mainly through the A. F. of L. Can our Party come forward and become a real mass Party, can we talk about winning the majority of the workers unless we are able to influence and win these workers in the first line of march, workers who will carry the other workers along with them?* To ask this question is to answer it. And does it not indicate that the line of policy must be to work where these masses are? We must add that every attempt to isolate the Communists, to drive them out of the unions—and these will not end with this convention of the A. F. of L.—necessitates a fight to entrench ourselves and against any attempt to isolate us from this most important mass of workers, precisely because the bourgeoisie and its agents are so interested in driving us out.

If this is the main line of policy, what then of the T.U.U.L.? Why should not all the unions of the T.U.U.L. make application to

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join the A. F. of L.? Where a small T.U.U.L. union exists side by side with a mass organization of the A. F. of L., such as in the mining and textile industries, our position has been made clear. Therefore such a problem can only arise in a union where we have a *mass organization parallel with the A. F. of L.*, or where a T.U.U.L. or independent union exists and the A. F. of L. does not exist, creating a different situation. If all the unions of the T.U.U.L. were really mass organizations, we would not put the question as we do today. But even then we would, of course, carry on a fight for trade-union unity on the basis of program, and democracy, as outlined in the letter of the T.U.U.L. to the 54th Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. and as it is being conducted in France. We would be able to work on a different basis and could fight even more effectively for our program of class trade-union unity on this basis.

The metal workers union, for example, has a real basis for growth (despite the fact that the steel industry is not to be its sphere of activity) among the one and a half million metal workers outside of steel, who are unorganized, and who have been more or less untouched by the A. F. of L. policy of craft unions. The great mass of the metal workers are unorganized. It might be said that if we really challenge the bosses in the industry and organize a mass union, the A. F. of L. will come in, as has been the case in other industries. It is true that the A. F. of L. has thus far experienced its largest growth where the T.U.U.L. unions were strongest and most active (mining, needle, textile, etc.). And it is precisely in these industries that we are obliged to change our tactics because of the growth of the A. F. of L. unions. What does this prove? It proves only that the T.U.U.L. unions for a long time carried on a struggle alone in the interests of the workers, and that they prepared the ground for mass organization in the industry. Just because the bourgeoisie fears the T.U.U.L. unions they often give recognition to the A. F. of L. unions with the hope that the bureaucrats will control the workers. Shall we, therefore, say that we should wait until the A. F. of L. organizes the workers in the metal industry, or that we should not organize since there is danger of a big drive by the A. F. of L. unions? This would be the worst kind of opportunism and tailism. We must go ahead and organize the masses. The development need not be the same as in other industries. We may be able to consolidate a much bigger mass union, and through it become a powerful factor in developing the struggle of the workers, weakening the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and developing further the fight for class trade-union unity.

It may be asked why, if we are going into the A. F. of L. in

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certain industries, we did not enter it a year and a half ago. The answer is that we made efforts to build the T.U.U.L. unions because it is is better to have 10,000 workers in the T.U.U.L. than in the A. F. of L., provided the 10,000 are not isolated from the hundreds of thousands. With 10,000 in a revolutionary union we have more freedom of expression and can conduct the struggle better, which is our aim. Where it is the T.U.U.L. and not the A. F. of L. organization which has a mass union in the industry, it would be wrong merely to transfer these workers into the A. F. of L. union as in the textile, steel, and other industries. Of course, if the workers could be transferred with guarantees that they would be allowed freedom of activity, and to maintain their program, methods of work, and leadership, while becoming part of the broad A. F. of L. trade-union movement, able through their organization to influence the rest of the workers, such a procedure would be very good. That is the reason we are fighting for trade-union unity. We are not in favor of maintaining unions outside the A. F. of L. on principle. But neither do we propose going into the A. F. of L. at any cost. Our tactics in each situation are determined by how we can best lead the struggle of the masses.

In the food and furniture industries the T.U.U.L. unions are, in certain branches of the industry, larger than those of the A. F. of L. In the fur industry the T.U.U.L. union is the decisive one. The T.U.U.L. has real influence among the seamen. This is true of other industries. These unions must be built as models for all workers, including those in the A. F. of L. At the same time these unions must fight, together with other unions, for trade-union unity, on the basis of concrete daily struggles. They must be the driving force in developing united actions of all workers, in all unions.

We now come to a consideration of the independent unions. For a while the independent unions, like those of the T.U.U.L., grew in two directions as split-offs from the A. F. of L. and among the unorganized. Although there are many workers in independent unions and these constitute the largest unions in certain industries (shoe, radio, white collar workers, etc.), growth of the independent unions has been arrested for the present. Many workers find that they do not have the right to join unions of their own choice, that many unions are semi-illegal and are directly attacked by the bosses and the Government, as well as the A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

For a while the situation was not entirely clear; much depended on the decisions of the A. F. of L. Convention. Many workers, especially those in craft and federal unions, were looking with great expectations to the outcome of the Convention, and two months ago there was the possibility of large sections of the A. F. of L.

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merging with the independent unions. But such a perspective does not exist at present, and it would be a serious mistake to support the withdrawal of any militant federal locals of the A. F. of L. which can become the force for initiating the whole struggle of the A. F. of L. and for developing militant unions such as is the case in the auto and rubber industries, etc.

Under these conditions, there is no immediate perspective of merging large masses, either from the A. F. of L., or from the unorganized, with the independent unions, even if it would be posable to unite all the independent unions, including the P.M.A. or the M.E.S.A. We must still isolate the reformist leaders in the P.M.A. and M.E.S.A. to make this possible.

Clearly, we cannot develop the slogan of an Independent Federation of Labor with the same rapidity as we thought at the time of the Party Convention. In the Party Resolution we stated that we must not spend this slogan without getting anything. With the growth of the independent unions stopped and with the changed situation regarding the T.U.U.L. unions, it is evident that although we retain the slogan, we cannot use it immediately. From this it follows that this slogan is too powerful a slogan to play around with now when the conditions do not call for immediate action, although it must be kept in mind by us.

On the relationship of the independent unions to the A. F. of L. we follow the same policy as we do in the T.U.U.L. unions. Where they have a basis for existence, we attempt to preserve and build them, while fighting within them for the policy of class trade-union unity. Where they are small organizations and A. F. of L. mass unions exist in the industry, we advocate merger into the A. F. of L. unions.

What is the perspective of our work in the A. F. of L.? We are strengthening our fight against the bureaucracy, for a class struggle policy. We are in the A. F. of L. not for the purpose of making peace with the employers and bureaucrats, but to make war against them. We are going to do everything possible to build the unions, to organize the unorganized, to develop the struggles of the workers, and to win the leading posts wherever possible. We will attempt to convert the organizations into instruments of struggle in the hands of the workers, to build and unite a broad fighting trade-union movement.

What will happen if we really make progress in the United Mine Workers, if we really succeed in the needle trades in exposing Zimmerman and Company, and Keller in Paterson, if the workers elect not only one Bridges, but hundreds of Bridges in the section and district leadership, not to speak of national leader-

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ship? There will be big struggles. The workers will become revolutionized. The Greens will, of course, continue to resort to expulsions, but if we work cleverly, they will not succeed in isolating us, and if they expel us they will have to expel hundreds of thousands. We know that cash books and headquarters are not unions. The membership is the union. Some ask why we are giving up the N.T.W.U. when the workers are disgusted with the U.T.W., and tear up their cards because of the Gorman betrayal. Workers are being expelled from the U.T.W. Why not keep our union and wait until they enter? We tried this policy and found it was not very successful. In Illinois the workers failed to enter the N.M.U., but were led into the P.M.A. by a new set of fakers. Had we been on the inside, and had we conducted struggles, the result would have been different. There will probably be splits made by the bureaucrats, but, whatever happens, if we are on the inside, we will be building a broad revolutionary trade-union movement.

A correct policy and tactic alone will not solve anything. We must organize all our forces to carry through this policy. If we make more strenuous efforts to mobilize the Party fractions and to get all Party members into the trade unions; if we develop systematic work in the factories, on the basis of the concentration policy laid down in the Open Letter, and carry on a stubborn struggle against every form of sectarianism and Right opportunist capitulation, then we shall be on the road toward leading millions of workers under the banner of Communism.

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Lessons of the Great National Textile Strike

By CARL REEVE

THE General Textile Strike of over half a million workers was the largest strike in the history of the class struggle in the United States. It demonstrated a new high level of militancy, and the great fighting capacity of the workers. The workers are ready to re-strike now, in spite of the severe terror, the blacklist, and the betrayal which they experienced.

The strike, which was for these half million workers a battle against worsening conditions under the N.R.A., showed that the toilers can expect nothing but bullets and the denial of their demands from the New Deal. The strikers faced the severest terror from the Roosevelt government. Twenty were killed and hundreds shot; but they fought back and, with militant methods, closed down the mills and paralyzed the textile industry.

After three weeks they were betrayed by the Gorman-Green-A. F. of L. leadership in the most brazen sell-out in the history of the labor movement. The strike and its betrayal showed the necessity for a fighting, class-struggle program and rank-and-file leadership if the workers' demands are to be won.

Once more the strike brings forward as the main lesson for our Party the necessity of intensifying our work inside the A. F. of L. unions.

The strike, occurring in the period of the great strike wave which began early in 1934, came on the heels of the historic San Francisco General Strike. The Textile Strike confirms in all particulars the thesis of the Central Committee of the Communist Party adopted at its meeting on September 5-6. This resolution declared:

> "The strike movement not only grew in the numbers of strikers, in the militancy and duration of the strikes, but also qualitatively entered a higher stage with the emergence on a nation-wide scale of a general strike movement."

The General Textile Strike was preceded and made possible by the lessons the workers learned from the great class battles of

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Toledo, Milwaukee and Minneapolis, and, most important, from the West Coast marine strike which culminated in the San Francisco General Strike.

The General Strike in the textile industry demonstrated the correctness of the theses of the Communist Party Convention and Central Committee meeting regarding the sharpening of the class struggle. It was the answer of the workers to the intensified and long continued attack on the living standards of the textile workers and on their unions. It was directed against the arbitration boards of the N.R.A.—against the Roosevelt government. It was the workers' answer to the attempts of the employers, the Roosevelt government, and the labor bureaucrats to force them to bear the burdens of the crisis by means of the N.R.A.'s wage-cutting, speed-up, company-union, and union-smashing drive. The struggle reached fierce intensity during the three weeks of its existence, demonstrating the increased fascist tendencies, the increased terror of the Government against the workers, which cost the lives of 20 strikers and the wounding of hundreds.

THE SAN FRANCISCO AND TEXTILE STRIKES

The General Textile Strike once more confirmed the line of the Party that in the present period of prolonged and sharp crisis, economic struggles quickly become political struggles and small partial strikes rapidly turn into general strikes:

> "In the present period of capitalist decline, a stubborn struggle for even the smallest immediate demands of the workers, inevitably develops into general class battles. Beginning in a typical economic struggle over wages and working conditions" there takes place, "a concentration of class forces in support of one and the other side which soon aligned practically the entire population into two hostile camps. . . . The economic struggle was transformed into a political struggle of the first magnitude."

The above was written regarding the San Francisco General Strike, but it applies as well to the General Textile Strike. The Textile Strike became a struggle against the government boards themselves, against the fascist terror of the Federal and State Government and against the armed guards and police. This was true of both general strikes, the one including in its scope an entire city and the marine workers of the whole West Coast; the other, a great strike in one industry covering many States and sections of the country. These two great general strikes were alike also in the militancy displayed by the workers which defeated the government's fascist terror (Woonsocket and Saylesville). In both was revealed the betrayal role of the bureaucrats of the A. F. of L.

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who acted as agents of the employers and the Government in attempting to sell out the strikes.

The decisive difference in these struggles lay in the strength of the rank-and-file opposition movement.

The combined forces of the employers, the Government and the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, were able to sell out and defeat the General Textile Strike because the Left Wing and the Party did not have an organized rank-and-file opposition inside the United Textile Workers Union. This was the basic reason for the defeat of the textile workers. In those mills where Left-Wing sentiment was strongest, there was an orderly retreat. The Gorman betrayal left in its wake the blacklist of thousands and heavy prison sentences for many. The union-smashing drive continued. That this defeat was not final is evidenced in the fact that almost immediately the textile workers' re-strike movement began.

In the San Francisco General Strike, where the Party and the Marine Workers Industrial Union were able to build the rank-and-file United Front, the solid unity of the longshoremen and seamen, and rank-and-file control of the marine strike, the betrayal of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats was not completely successful; the retreat was orderly; the open-shop drive was checked; and concessions were forced in the marine settlement. In the General Textile Strike the betrayal was more successful and no concessions were won because of the lack of an organized rank-and-file opposition. Except in Hazelton, Pa., the A. F. of L. bureaucrats were able to check the spread of the Textile Strike into local general strikes.

A STRIKE AGAINST N.R.A.

To the 500,000 workers involved, the General Strike was a walk-out against conditions brought about by the N.R.A. This was shown in the statements of even the local and State officials of the United Textile Workers' Union before the strike.

The report of the North Carolina Textile Conference before the strike is typical. The *Salisbury Post* of July 22, in covering the State Textile Conference, reported: "L. E. Brokshire, President of the South Carolina Federation of Labor, said that labor was not getting a square deal from the S.C. Industrial Relations Board and censored that group."

The minutes of the Georgia Textile Conference held in Macon, June 30, contain the following: "Delegate Henry, Local 1899, La Grange, Ga., said, 'We have never had a decision from the Cotton Textile Relations Board fair to the workers'". Hundreds of local officials made similar public statements. In every

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textile center the workers were determined that conditions existing under the N.R.A. must be changed.

It was the overwhelming demand of the masses of textile workers which forced the leadership of the United Textile Workers Union, the Gorman-MacMahon machine, to call the strike. The National Convention of the U.T.W., held in New York City, the week of August 13, made the strike decision. The Gorman-MacMahon machine did not want the strike and, at the last minute pleaded with the delegates to allow the Executive Council to set the date. But the delegates voted for a strike on or before September 1.

The Cotton Textile Code was the first adopted. Under it the minimum wage was set at $13 for the North and $12 for the South. During the past year and a half, the textile employers pushed wages below this minimum. The stretch-out was intensified greatly. Workers were told that new piece-work rates were set, and if they could not make the minimum wage by faster work under the new rates, they could get out. The minimum wage was set for the 40-hour week, but no minimum was set for a week under 40 hours. Pay envelopes of $4, $5 and $6 for 30 hours are not uncommon, and are collected by the hundreds by textile organizers. For skilled and semi-skilled workers the minimum wage became the maximum. Experienced workers were forced to take "learners" wages.

In Alabama, before the strike, the average wage was $7.30 a week (including skilled workers) for a 30-hour week. Government figures showed an average wage in April, 1934, of only $13.31, including all categories. The Union grew to 300,000 members under these conditions. Discrimination also grew. Thousands of union members were fired.

CAUSES OF THE STRIKE

On top of these rapidly worsening conditions, the Roosevelt government in the spring ordered a 25 per cent "curtailment" in hours in the cotton textile industry, without any increase in pay. This meant a 25 per cent wage-cut. The cotton textile workers answered by voting for strike. The strike date was set for the first week in June. At the last moment, the MacMahon-Gorman leadership called the strike off without consulting the workers, and on June 2 signed an agreement with Johnson and the N.R.A. whereby the curtailment was accepted and the strike called off. They promised an "investigation" by the N.R.A. Division of Planning and Research to determine whether or not wages should be

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increased, whether the stretch-out should be limited, and whether hours should be reduced.

The report of the N.R.A. on wages which was handed down a few weeks later, concluded as follows: "Under existing conditions, there is no factual or statistical basis for any general increase in Cotton Textile Code wage rates." This report entirely ignored the question of the exorbitant profits made by the textile employers in 1933-1934.

The report on hours concluded that in order to supply "per capita" demand, hours should be increased to 90 a week for two shifts. It said: "It will require 90 hours per week of productive machine operation, or ten hours more than the 80-hour maximum, in two 40-hour shifts, permitted under the Cotton Textile Code, . . . when normal annual consumption of cotton in the United States is obtained".

The report on the stretch-out was held up.

Thus the N.R.A., after calling off the June strike with the approval of the Gorman-MacMahon leadership, ruled that wages could not be increased, hours could not be shortened, and stretch-out could not be decreased. The N.R.A. then proceeded to put over the curtailment—a 25 per cent reduction in wages. "Curtailments" (always accompanied by increased speed-up) followed in silk and wool.

A similar course was taken in the woolen industry. The woolen and worsted workers voted to strike on July 2. The Gorman-MacMahon leadership called off the strike at the last moment and accepted a government "wool board" which, just as in the cotton industry, ignored the demands of the woolen and worsted workers.

THE GORMAN-MACMAHON LEADERSHIP

The Gorman-MacMahon leadership was well known as one opposed to strikes. After the re-election of this leadership in the National Convention of last August, the *Worsted Labor News* (A. F. of L.) declared on August 17: "Mr. Gorman is quoted as saying that 'Mr. MacMahon's re-election will have a strong influence in avoiding the calling of a general strike'—meaning that the result of the election and the vote taken yesterday calling for a general strike, demonstrates confidence that will prove a most important factor in avoidance of a strike." Even at this late date, the Gorman-MacMahon leadership had hopes of heading off the strike.

The *Journal of Commerce* expressed similar confidence in the no-strike leadership of Gorman-MacMahon, declaring on August

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18, "At the annual convention of the United Textile Workers here yesterday, the mistake was not made of changing leaders to make concessions to new elements in the body. The matter has special market interest for the reason that it is reasonably safe to count upon the continuation of old policies of union administration".

The Gorman-MacMahon no-strike leadership secured re-election because of the treachery of the Socialist leader Emil Rieve, who withdrew his opposition and candidacy for president at the last moment, confusing the rank and file, and because the real Left-Wing forces were too weak and too loosely organized to run a real opposition slate. The Lovestoneites at the Convention did not put up a candidate of their own. They put up a rank-and-file candidate who "declined". These maneuvers secured the unopposed candidacy of MacMahon for President and Gorman for Vice-President. The militant rank-and-file delegates, who forced the decision for general strike, the masses of new union members who made up nine-tenths of the total membership, were not made aware of the major error in electing a no-strike leadership due to the lack of an organized rank-and-file opposition inside the Convention.

But the workers would not be put off any longer. Scores of resolutions demanding strike poured into the Convention. The following resolution is typical of a hundred or more:

> "Whereas, the conditions in the textile industry are deplorable and the workers are being treated like slaves. And the International United Textile Workers of America are fighting and struggling to better our conditions; Therefore be it resolved by the *Georgia Federation of Textile Workers* in convention in Macon, Ga., June 30 and July 1, 1934, to go on record as supporting the International Union in its struggle and endorsing a *general strike for better conditions.*"

After the convention, hundreds of telegrams poured in on Gorman at Washington from the locals, demanding that the strike take place as instructed by the Convention. The response to the strike completely surprised the manufacturers.

GORMAN AND THE N.R.A.

The strategy of the Gorman leadership during the strike was a continuation of the strategy during the Convention. The leaders were forced by the militancy of the workers to criticize severely the N.R.A. decisions in order to keep leadership. But the Gorman leadership throughout the strike attempted to maintain the faith of the textile workers in President Roosevelt. It attempted to differentiate between General Johnson, the code authorities, and the old Cotton Textile Relations Board on the one hand, and President

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Roosevelt and any new "impartial" board he might set up on the other.

The Gorman machine cried: "Build your organization, so that you can fight better." But these "leaders" made it clear that the "fight" they referred to was a fight inside the Roosevelt boards. Thus, at the Convention, the Gorman-MacMahon machine said nothing about strike preparations, but spent hours on the subject of more representation on the N.R.A. boards and new "impartial" boards.

MacMahon's report was a eulogy of the N.R.A. Gorman, after his "criticisms" of the N.R.A., concluded: "I desire to express our sincere appreciation to the research department of the American Federation of Labor and the Labor Advisory Board of the N.R.A. for the splendid assistance they have rendered to the United Textile Workers of America and their willingness at all times to co-operate in our endeavors".

Gorman's entire report dealt with the maneuvers of himself and his colleagues with the N.R.A. boards and his strongest recommendations were along the following lines:

> "*I think we have reason to hope that it* [the new Labor Relations Board] *will be better than any agency of its sort which we have had before.* . . . I urge that the matter of the Cotton Textile Relations Board be left in the hands of the incoming Executive Council. I am sure that some satisfactory arrangements can be worked out with the administration at Washington. . . ." (My emphasis, C.R.)

Throughout the entire course of the strike, the Gorman officials referred to Roosevelt as "that great humanitarian at the White House", and tried to build up, in speeches and press statements issued daily, the waning faith of the workers in Roosevelt and the N.R.A. They said the N.R.A. was all right, the trouble lay with the chiseling employers who were "violating" the N.R.A. They spoke of "arbitration" and the hope that Roosevelt would appoint an "impartial" board. They sang the song of co-operation with the employers and did not prepare the struggle.

GORMAN'S STRIKE LEADERSHIP

To win the strike it was obviously necessary to *spread the strike* as broadly and as rapidly as possible. The Gorman Strike Committee of five, which was appointed by the Executive Council, did just the opposite. Gorman made every effort to confine the strike to the cotton textile industry. He refused to call out the Paterson dye workers, which would have tied up the entire silk finishing

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industry. The workers were confused at first as to whether or not the rayon mills had been called on strike. Gorman ordered the hosiery workers to remain at work. The U.T.W. strike leadership attempted to confine the strike to as few branches of the industry as possible.

But through the sweeping militancy of the workers themselves the strike was continually being broadened during the entire three weeks it lasted. Mass picketing and flying squadrons, initiated by the strikers swept the field. In New England the mass picket lines closed down mills regardless of the branch of industry, including the tire fabric mills, hosiery, woolen, silk, rayon and even garment shops. However, Gorman succeeded in keeping the bulk of the hosiery and dye workers on the job throughout the strike.

Not only did Gorman fail to try to spread the strike, but he attempted to stop mass picketing, the greatest weapon in making a strike effective. He counselled "peaceful picketing" and ordered his lieutenants to make agreements limiting picketing. Thus, in New England, the U.T.W. leaders, acting under Gorman's orders, made agreements with the mayors, the police chiefs, etc., limiting pickets to six or ten men at a gate. The thousands of textile workers ignored these agreements, organizing flying squadrons, and establishing mass picket lines with as many as ten and fifteen thousand workers. Similarly in the South, the U.T.W. leaders attempted to stop mass picketing.

Gorman prevented the spread of the strike to Lawrence by calling off the flying squadrons and instructing the strikers not to picket the Lawrence mills. U.T.W. organizer Kelly made an agreement with the Commissioner of Public Safety in Lawrence that no picketing would be carried on there.

The U.T.W. leadership, in the face of murderous terror, agreed to the calling out of troops and publicly attacked mass pickets who were being shot down as "hoodlums and Communists". Thus we had the spectacle of Joseph Sylvia, New England organizer of the U.T.W., inside the Sayles Finishing Company mills at Saylesville, R. I., conferring with Adjutant General Dean, head of the National Guard, while outside the gates, troops were shooting down mass pickets. Sylvia came out and urged the pickets to disband and go home. The strikers chased him away with rocks. Sylvia, Riviere and other U.T.W. leaders made statements to the press washing their hands of the mass picket lines at Woonsocket, Saylesville, and in the South, where workers were killed, and declared the fighting was caused, not by police, deputies, and troops, but by "outside agitators" and Communists. Governor Green of Rhode Island told a delegation protesting the use of troops against

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strikers of which the author was a member: "In this very room MacMahon, Sylvia and other U.T.W. officials conferred with me before I called out the National Guard and agreed to it. Labor does not oppose my measures. The strikers have agreed to limit picketing."

The Gorman Strike Committee made no strike preparations before or during the strike. They moved to Washington, left the workers unprepared and spent all their time with N.R.A. boards. At the beginning of the strike Gorman made one statement regarding the organization of picket squads of ten, each with a picket captain. But this was never put into effect, and no organizational steps were taken by U.T.W. leaders to strengthen picket lines.

Almost no union meetings were called by the U.T.W. strike leadership during the strike. Members were signed up on application cards and not called to meetings. Even mass meetings were held regularly only in a few places. The Gorman leadership was afraid to give the rank and file a chance to make its voice felt in the strike. The rank and file was given no consideration, the appointed Strike Committee giving all orders from Washington and Gorman's district agents carrying them out without consulting the workers. Discussion was not allowed at mass meetings.

Gorman took the lead in the Red scare campaign. The Red scare began in the Hearst press of New England even before the strike, the "secret open letter" of the Communist Party being put forward as a "plot" to get control of the textile strike. Gorman and his district aides made daily statements to the press against the Communists, in this way trying to stifle all militancy and split off militant rank-and-file workers from the strike activity. "Dynamite plots", based on anonymous telephone calls, were laid by the Hearst press to Communists.

A score were killed and hundreds wounded by National Guard and deputies' bullets. Governor Green of Rhode Island ordered the arrest of every known Communist. Assemblages were forbidden in Rhode Island where Green applied the Riot Act to the entire State. The Guard was now out in four States in New England and in almost every southern textile State. Concentration camps, patterned after those of Hitler, were set up in Georgia.

Through all this Gorman and Company continued to attack the militant mass pickets and the "Reds", to praise Roosevelt, and to limit picketing. He was the most potent strike-breaking force the employers had.

In spite of these strike-breaking moves of the employers, the Government and the Gorman leadership, the strike was strong and effective at the time Gorman put over the betrayal.

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The mass picket lines of the textile workers, in such battles as those of Woonsocket and Saylesville, charged the National Guard after their comrades had been shot down, and forced the closing down of the mills.

One of the chief characteristics of the present strike period pointed out by the Central Committee resolution is that "the national and local governments resorted to increasing use of violence against the workers on strike; in practically every strike the National Guard was called out; in general, *growing fascist and semi-fascist methods of suppressing strikes were used by the Government*, supplemented by fascist organizations and armed thugs, resulting, in most of the strikes, in the killing and wounding of strikers, intimidation of foreign-born workers, etc."

In the Textile Strike, Roosevelt went to the extent of publicly assuring Governor Green that Federal troops would be called out in Rhode Island as soon as requested. Roosevelt's Secretary of War ordered the entire U.S. Army mobilized on a war footing in New England, and the Army was made completely ready to move against the strikers at a moment's notice. Agents of the U.S. Department of Labor began to make house-to-house visits of foreign-born workers threatening foreign-born strikers with deportation.

The fascist tendencies which were most severe in the South, were marked by a closer inter-relation of the A. F. of L. leaders with the Roosevelt Government. Not only did these A. F. of L. leaders conduct the Red scare together with the employers, but they also acted as a part of the Roosevelt Government. Thomas MacMahon, President of the U.T.W. was made a member of the N.R.A. Labor Board just before the strike began in order to put him in a better position to carry through the betrayal. Gorman and other U.T.W. leaders were members of the cotton, wool and other N.R.A. arbitration boards during the summer. The strike marked the trend toward merger, on a common program, of the A. F. of L. leaders with the Roosevelt Government.

After the strike, in its monthly statement issued at the completion of the A. F. of L. Convention, the Green Executive Committee brought forward a perfect fascist program, calling for government control of the unions: "Acceptance of the principles on which the Recovery Act is predicated—industry organized in trade association and employees organized in self governing unions, *under chairmanship of the Government*". (My emphasis, C.R.) In the same statement Green advocated less taxes on "wealth" and cuts in unemployment relief. He put forward the program of the employers, of the Roosevelt Government, emphasizing its fascist tendencies.

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It was this program, now crystallized in an intensified wage-cut, union-smashing drive under the slogan of "industrial truce" which Green and Gorman put into practice in the General Textile Strike.

Just as Green, at the very moment when terror was raging against the San Francisco General Strike, made a statement attacking the strikers, so Gorman, at the moment when terror raged against the mass picket lines of the textile strikers, issued daily statements attacking these mass pickets as "hoodlums and Communists".

The fascist attacks on the general textile strikers and the mass fight against this fascist terror, which raised the struggle to a political struggle, show the necessity of combining the fight against fascism with the strike struggle. In the General Textile Strike, as in all important strikes in this period, the struggle became a fight for the elementary rights of the workers, a fight for the very right to strike itself, a fight for the right to organize, a fight for the legality of the working class organizations (Rhode Island).

The Red scare, the fascist terror, were answered by tremendous mass picket lines of thousands of workers, by the outpouring of whole populations of cities such as Woonsocket, on the picket lines. The workers were stirred to indignation against these fascist attacks. Larger and larger masses were brought into the fight on the side of the strikers. In many towns there was strong sentiment for general city-wide strikes which the A. F. of L. leaders tried hard to suppress.

The Red scare was used as a strike-breaking weapon in the textile areas just as in the San Francisco General Strike. Governor Green, in issuing the Riot Act for the whole State, declared that Rhode Island faced "insurrection".

The Central Committee resolution regarding the Red scare in San Francisco applies with equal force to the General Textile Strike:

> "It was the capitalist class, which in panic before the rising giant of class action of the workers, hysterically cried out that this strike, which they could have settled very quickly at any time by the simple expedient of granting the workers' demands, was actually a revolutionary uprising organized by the Communist Party to overthrow the whole capitalist system. Of course, this strike did not have revolution as its objective, but only the immediate demands of the workers. The unity of the workers, however, raised before the employers the spectre of working class power, of the potentiality of revolution. On the side of the workers, their experience was leading them step by step to more serious challenge of the capitalist class, teaching them the necessity of extending the struggle for power, bringing them face to face with the State power as the guardian of capitalist profits and the force driving down the workers' standards; at the same time it was giving them a new understanding of their own power, of their ability to shake the very basis

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> of capitalist rule. In this sense the strike was truly the greatest revolutionary event in American labor history."

This understanding of their power was felt, for example, by the thousands of workers who slowly walked the streets of Woonsocket, following an all night battle with the National Guard after two of their number were killed. These workers felt their power in having closed down the Woonsocket Rayon Mills. They were under martial law, but they knew they had done a good job, put up a good fight, and had not been defeated. They understood, after this struggle, which raged through the whole working class section of the city, their mass power, as they had never understood it before.

THE BETRAYAL

After three weeks, Gorman ordered the strikers back to work without a single one of their demands having been granted. Gorman was so anxious to end the strike that he did not even insist on guarantees against discrimination of strikers. Eighty thousand were locked out of the mills, chiefly in the South. The strikers were ordered back to work on the basis of the report of the Winant Board, which had been set up by President Roosevelt to try to end the strike.

The Winant Report, which was accepted by Gorman as a "sweeping victory", gave the workers absolutely nothing. The national strike demands were for the 30-hour week; minimum wages for skilled and semi-skilled as well as unskilled, and higher wages; abolition of the stretch-out, and recognition. Not a single demand was won.

The Winant Report proposed: "Until February 1, 1935, no employer shall extend the work load of any employee except in special circumstances with the approval of the stretch-out committee". The Board recommended the setting up of this stretch-out committee to propose a plan to "regulate" the stretch-out.

Thus, the same grievances exist under the Winant decision as before. The workers must "prove" to a government board that the stretch-out is excessive. In the meanwhile, the stretch-out is continually being increased. No provision or proposal whatever was made for increased wages or recognition. An "impartial board" to "investigate", these points was recommended. The textile workers are given the same dose they got last summer of "investigation", while thousands are blacklisted, hundreds are in jail, wages are being reduced, and stretch-out increases.

President Roosevelt, "the great humanitarian", issued a statement appealing to the strikers to return to work on these terms.

The head of the cotton textile authority, George Sloan, cynical-

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ly announced that all the strikers got out of the strike was a "three weeks' vacation without pay".

ROLE OF SOCIALIST LEADERS

Gorman told the A. F. of L. Convention that this betrayal was "an amazing victory" for the strikers. The Socialist Party leaders sprang to Gorman's defense and attempted to justify the betrayal. According to Norman Thomas: "Gorman and the Strike Committee did a good job with the resources at their disposal, but those resources were woefully inadequate". (*New Leader*, September 29). The *New Leader*, in issue after issue, defended Gorman. The October 6 issue contained a full page anonymous article defending Gorman and attacking the Communists and others for branding as a betrayal his action in sending the workers back without any gains.

During the course of the strike, the Socialist leaders acted as part and parcel of the Gorman leadership. No criticism was made of Gorman during or after the strike. Emil Rieve, Socialist Party leader and member of the U.T.W. Executive Board and the Strike Committee, signed with Gorman the order which ended and betrayed the strike.

During the strike and when the terror was raging, Norman Thomas refused to enter into a united front in North Carolina, "because the Communists were criticizing the leadership at the height of the strike".

These Socialist leaders, by refusing to criticize Gorman, by being in fact a part of his machine, are equally responsible for the betrayal, for the fact that the workers were unprepared for the sudden sell-out, and were disarmed and unable to continue the struggle after Gorman's return-to-work order.

The principle argument raised by the *New Leader* in justification of Gorman, is that he had to call the strike off, that the workers faced defeat. This is untrue. The strike was effective and still spreading, in spite of Gorman, when it was called off. The dyers had voted to come out. The workers of Maine were pouring out of the mills. But Gorman, through his tactics of narrowing down the strike, preventing mass picketing, and failing to organize the strikers properly, was rapidly putting the strike into a position where it would soon have faced defeat. Gorman's whole policy was one of deliberately leading the strike into a position where it would be possible to put over the final sell-out.

As the *Daily Worker* editorials pointed out day after day, one of the biggest crimes of the Gorman leadership was its refusal to mobilize the rest of the working class in support of the Textile

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Strike. No attempt was made to build a broad united front against the terror. Instead, the U.T.W. leaders attacked the strikers who were being shot down by the troops. Not only the entire A. F. of L. could have been mobilized against the terror, but the broadest masses of the entire working class. No move was made by Gorman for the collection of financial aid for the strike or for a relief campaign.

Most important, there was great sentiment among the workers, especially in the textile towns, for local general strikes in support of the textile strikers and for their own economic demands. For example, in Salem, Mass., where there was difficulty in getting the Pequot mill on strike, the workers were speaking favorably of a general strike, and the matter was discussed in the Salem A. F. of L. council and in the local press. But no initiative was taken by the U.T.W. leaders *to broaden the strike horizontally*. The 48-hour General Strike in Hazelton, Pa., was a clear indication that local, general strikes could be called in many cities and towns to strengthen the Textile Strike and to end the terror. The locals of the United Shoe and Leather Workers Union in New England passed resolutions of support. No attempt to gain support from the workers in other industries was made. The entire strike was carried on by Gorman and Company with the objective of getting the strikers back into the mills as quickly as possible. The defeat was planned in advance by the Green-Gorman leadership.

The Lovestoneite renegades also functioned as part of the Gorman strike-breaking machine. In Paterson, the Lovestoneite Eli Keller, who is manager of the Silk Workers Federation (U.T.W.), carried out the daily instructions of Gorman. He forced the silk workers back to work, even postponing their membership meeting where they were to vote on the back-to-work order of Gorman. He carried out Gorman's orders and kept the dyers from striking. He launched an expulsion policy against the Communists. While he worked as Gorman's agent, he launched bitter attacks on the Communist Party in public statements.

After the strike was over, the Lovestoneite *Workers Age* claimed that Keller was opposed to the betrayal all the time. This was cheap camouflage in order to keep Keller in office. The membership is demanding his removal as a result of his strike-breaking acts.

ROLE OF THE LEFT WING

The National Textile Workers Union did everything possible to achieve the unity of the workers and to win the strike. The masses of the workers were in the United Textile Workers Union or, if unorganized, under its leadership. The N.T.W.U. proposed united front steps for one united union and one Strike Committee. The

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U.T.W. national leadership rejec d these proposals and attacked the Communists. However, in Paterson, the united front proposals were accepted by the silk workers' union (U.T.W.) and the merger of the N.T.W.U. membership including the organizers, into the U.T.W. was carried through. In New Bedford the N.T.W.U. members joined the U.T.W. individually after the U.T.W. leaders refused to take them in in a body without any form of discrimination. In New Bedford, Burke, the N.T.W.U. organizer was refused the right to enter the U.T.W. In Easton, Pa., the U.T.W. and N.T.W.U. organized a united front strike committee.

The united front on the picket line was achieved in such places as Lowell, where members of the Protective Union (Independent) of the U.T.W. and the N.T.W.U. picketed together on mass picket lines of ten thousand workers and closed down every mill in the city. But the next steps in the united front were blocked by the misleaders of the U.T.W. and the Protective Union.

In those places where the Communist Party was strongest, such as Lowell and New Bedford in the North, and the Gastonia area in the South, the strike was most militant and most effective. The chief methods whereby the mills were closed, the marches, flying squadrons and mass picket lines were learned by the workers from the N.T.W.U. and were carried out over the heads of the U.T.W. misleaders. The 1929 Gastonia strike, the 1933 silk strike, the New Bedford strike, the Passaic strike had trained the textile workers in the use of these militant methods. The "red scare" was met and defeated in Lowell and elsewhere.

The *Daily Worker* played a bigger role in the present strike than it has ever played in previous strikes. More than ten thousand copies of the *Daily Worker* went to the strikers every day. The strikers bought and read the *Daily Worker* eagerly. The fact that the correct class struggle line appeared every day in the editorials, and was transmitted to other strikers by readers, affected the conduct of the strike. The leaflets issued by the *Daily Worker*, and the pamphlet containing Comrade Hathaway's editorials in the *Daily Worker*, were widely distributed throughout the strike area.

Organizers were sent into the field by the T.U.U.L. and the Party to aid in the winning of the strike. The Left-Wing forces warned, from the beginning, of the coming betrayal of Gorman and Green, called for the election of rank-and-file strike committees, and organized and led mass picket lines.

The chief weakness of the Party in the strike was that its forces inside the U.T.W. were very weak when the strike began, that there were very few functioning opposition groups inside the U.T.W. at the beginning of the strike.

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The isolation of the Party members from the life of the U.T.W. locals before the strike, and the lack of an organized rank-and-file opposition, were glaringly shown at the U.T.W. National Convention in August. The lack of a rank-and-file opposition compelled the Left Wing forces to bring the correct strike policy to the workers too much from the outside—that is, through leaflets and mass meetings, and not enough from inside the U.T.W. local unions.

In the course of the strike, Party members were recruited in the Carolinas, in New Bedford, Lowell, and other strike centers.

The end of the strike again showed that where the Left Wing was most strongly organized, the workers returned to the mills with the least losses. The Textile Trimmers Union in New York (Independent), by remaining out solidly for a few days longer, secured an agreement for the 35-hour week, wage increases, and several holidays a year, including May 1st. In Easton the workers did not go back to work Monday, and when they did, they returned in an organized manner, after holding shop meetings. They won recognition of shop committees and prevented discrimination.

The Party, weak inside the U.T.W., was unable to force the spreading of the strike to all branches of the textile industry (dye, hosiery, etc.).

The rank-and-file opposition was unable to develop city-wide supporting strikes, such as took place in Hazelton, mass united front actions, or conferences of the workers in other industries and the petty bourgeoisie against the fascist terror and in support of the strikers.

In the textile areas, the Unemployment Councils did not play a decisive enough role. This, in spite of the fact that the greatest solidarity was shown on the picket lines by the unemployed and non-striking workers.

Our forces were too weak to build rank-and-file controlled strike committees in mills where the workers belonged to the U.T.W. During the course of the strike, recruiting into the Party was weak.

The Jim Crow position of the U.T.W. leaders and their discrimination against Negroes were not sufficiently exposed.

Work inside the National Guard was insufficiently carried out.

Much greater gains could have been won if concentration inside the U.T.W. had been seriously undertaken earlier. In some districts there was a marked slowness in mobilizing for the strike, and tendencies to state that "the strike will not take place." These tendencies grew out of the isolation from the life of the A. F. of

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L. and an underestimation of the sweeping movement of the workers to organize into the U.T.W.

The Communist Party daily exposed the Jim-Crow policy of the Gorman-MacMahon machine, fought for equal rights for Negroes and demanded that all such discrimination cease.

The perspective of the Communist Party that the workers would enter a re-strike movement has already been fully borne out. The 30,000 Paterson silk and dye workers have struck. In Pennsylvania, New England and in the South individual mills are striking.

The movement for re-strike is the answer of the workers to Gorman's newest move for betrayal—his immediate acceptance of Roosevelt's "no-strike truce". At a time when thousands are blacklisted, and when the employers are launching a drive for new wage-cuts, Gorman has told President Roosevelt that the U.T.W. will agree in advance not to strike for a period of six months. Thus, Gorman is trying to make his betrayal permanent and to tie the hands of the textile workers while fresh attacks of the employers are being launched.

In the American Federation of Labor Convention at San Francisco, Gorman championed Lewis' fake "industrial union" campaign. His actions show that he does not advocate real industrial unionism. Gorman went to San Francisco fresh from the most crass betrayal ever perpetrated by an A. F. of L. leader. His own union, the U.T.W., is an "industrial union" in the sense that the crafts are bound together in the international.

But this did not prevent Gorman from at least partially succeeding in splitting up the textile workers by crafts, keeping some branches of the industry, some departments of the union, at work and putting over the whole betrayal policy of class co-operation.

The resolution finally passed by the A. F. of L. Convention, which Gorman, Lewis and Green alike supported, while representing a concession to rank-and-file pressure, was not real industrial unionism. Instead, it declared that all craft unions will be protected and aided, and upheld the "principle" of the craft form of organization. Only in three "mass production" industries did the resolution call for "vertical" unions. But these unions, auto, aluminum and cement, are to be directly controlled by the A. F. of L. Executive Council.

Real industrial unionism, which binds together all crafts in an industry for more effective struggle for their demands, is not a question of mere structure. The real industrial union couples with the industrial form of organization a program of fight for the workers' demands, a program of class struggle, ar . of rank-and-file control of the union.

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The brand of "industrial unionism" advocated by the Gormans and Lewises is the brand which is of a piece with their betrayals. Gorman, the betrayer of the textile workers, friend of Roosevelt, who advocates a no-strike policy, is an enemy of genuine industrial unionism. He is trying to prevent the textile workers from re-striking.

But the conditions under which the one million textile workers have been rebelling for the year and a half of the N.R.A. remain and are getting worse. Wages are being lowered (Paterson). The stretch-out is still further increased under Roosevelt's sanction. Jail sentences are doled out to active strikers. Unemployment grows. Discrimination against Negro workers continues. Great struggles are bound to continue in the textile industry.

Reports from all textile sections show that the workers have not given way to despair. Many, as a first reaction to the sell-out, tore up their union cards in disgust. But this was not the reaction of the majority. The workers who had completely paralyzed the textile industry, and who had fought so effectively against the national guards, felt the power of the strike. They felt they had the mill owners almost licked at the time of the betrayal.

The Party has called on the textile workers to stay inside the U.T.W., to fight for rank-and-file control, to build the rank-and-file opposition inside the U.T.W. local unions, to fight to kick out the reactionary leaders. The Party has called for a vigorous struggle against the blacklist and for the organization of rank-and-file complaint committees. The workers are urged to flood the new Textile Board with complaints, to show the Roosevelt Government that it must deal not only with the Gormans, but with the masses of the textile workers. The Party has called for a united front struggle, for the unity of employed and unemployed in the fight for the strike demands, for a vigorous fight for the demands of the Negro workers. In order to achieve a united fight, the Party proposes steps for the merger of the N.T.W.U. membership into the U.T.W. in places where the masses adhere to the U.T.W. union.

The national textile fraction meeting of the Party held recently was valuable in exchange of experiences and lessons gained in the different sections of the country during the Textile Strike. In the light of the decisions of this national fraction meeting, the textile districts and sections should re-examine their control tasks and the results of work in their concentration points.

As a result of the lessons of the Textile Strike and the betrayal of Gorman, the opportunities for the work of the Party have increased. The textile workers, who have proved their militancy and fighting capacity, are now more than ever receptive to the fact

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that they can win their demands only through a class-struggle policy, throwing overboard the policy of co-operation with the employers and "impartial" government boards supported by the Gorman machine. Only by relying on the organized strength of the rank and file can the workers win better conditions. Building the Party in the textile areas and increasing the circulation of the *Daily Worker* as part of the Party's present recruiting drive are important tasks.

Linking of the lessons of the strike with the election campaign, exposing all the strike-breaking phases of the Roosevelt-Gorman sell-out and the strike-breaking acts of the Government, should be a central task of the election campaign in the textile districts.

Every contact which our Party has made during the strike and every contact which we can make through our mass work and our struggle for the demands of the textile workers should be made acquainted with the whole program of our Party. Raising the political level of and revolutionizing these militant textile workers will increase their fighting capacity and strengthen their coming struggles so that they cannot again be betrayed.

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Leninism Is the Only Marxism of the Imperialist Era

By ALEX BITTELMAN and V. J. JEROME

(*Part II of the review of Lewis Corey's* THE DECLINE OF AMERICAN CAPITALISM.)

THE *Decline of American Capitalism* declares the Socialist society to be the sole, inevitable way out of the maze of capitalist contradictions.

In scientific Communism, the Socialist objective is, of course, conceivable only in its inalienable connection with the program for its achievement. In this, scientific Communism is unique, having definitively, through struggle, supplanted all Utopian varieties of Socialism and of Communism, each of which was, through historic necessity, devoid of a scientific program. The Communist ideal has always been an aspiration of the oppressed, whether slumbering or waking intermittently into thought and movement, ever since primitive Communism gave way to class society. But no oppressed class prior to the proletariat was able to emancipate itself from private property; the most that could be achieved on the basis of pre-capitalist modes of production was liberation from a specific form of class ownership. Neither chattel slave nor serf was able to emancipate himself, and with himself all society, from *classdom*. Communism becomes scientific when it becomes both possible and necessary, when it becomes programmatic. It becomes scientific in that historic stage which has brought upon the social scene an exploited class that, operating through a socialized method of production, is therefore, historically, potent to liberate the productive forces from the constriction of private appropriation, to liberate all society with its own liberation.

Hence, Marx declared:

> "No social order ever disappears before all the productive forces, for which there is room in it, have been developed; and new higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society. Therefore, mankind always takes up only such problems as it can solve; since, looking at the matter more closely, we will always find that the problem itself arises only when the material conditions

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necessary for its solution already exist or are at least in the process of formation."*

Obviously, unless Communist theory can serve the proletariat as a guiding principle and as a weapon for the realization of the classless society, it cannot lay claim to being scientific. The question of realization, involving as it must, the relationship of end to means, becomes, in consequence, the cardinal issue in the theory and practice of scientific Communism. Revolutionary Marxism has had, in this connection, to contend, on the one hand, with the revisionist theory advanced by Eduard Bernstein at the close of the past century, that the road is everything and the goal nothing**—a theory that robs the working class of its Socialist objective—and, on the other, with the theory of the type advanced by the DeLeonist Socialist Labor Party in this country, that the goal is everything and the road nothing.*** Each of these views, whether openly revisionist or ultra-"revolutionary", loses both road and objective by losing either. One would cause the working class to plod along through interminable reformism to no goal; the other, to stand transfixed by the "goal" but make no inroads towards it. Both would condemn the working class to perpetual subjection to capitalism. Marxism-Leninism is a realistic program of revolutionary class action, which guides the proletariat on the basis of its actual economic and political conditions

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* Preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.*

** ". . . for me, that which is commonly called the ultimate aim of socialism is nothing; the movement, everything. . . ." (*Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie.* Stuttgart, 1899; p. 169.)

*** Impatient with the opportunism of social-democracy, DeLeon swung pendulum-like to the opportunist negation of the necessity of the proletarian struggle for immediate and partial demands, referring to all gains short of the revolution itself as "sops" which redound only to the benefit of the bourgeoisie. We cite here two passages which are characteristic of DeLeon's utterances on the subject:

"The essence of this revolution—the overthrow of Wage Slavery—cannot be too forcefully held up. Nor can the point be too forcefully kept in evidence that, short of the abolition of Wage Slavery, all 'improvements' either accrue to Capitalism, or are the merest moonshine where they are not sidetracks." (*Two Pages From Roman History,* p. 70.)

"The program of this revolution consists not in any one detail. It demands the unconditional surrender of the capitalist system and its system of wage slavery; the total extinction of class rule is its object. Nothing short of that—whether as a first, a temporary, or any other sort of step can at this late date receive recognition in the camp of the modern revolution." (*Reform and Revolution,* p. 20.)

DeLeon is clearly guilty of mechanically contraposing partial gains and the ultimate objective as mutually exclusive—an either-or relationship of formal logic that has nothing in common with the dialectic unity of goal and means as conceived by Marxism-Leninism and formulated in its program. DeLeonism must inevitably resolve itself into shrivelled academicism and, hence, capitulation to the bourgeoisie.

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along the road of unceasing day-to-day struggles developed from lower to higher forms, to the climactic act of revolutionary overthrow. In the same manner as there can be no revolutionary overthrow without the objective of Socialism, so can there be no revolutionary overthrow save as the culminating act of continuous forms of struggle, programmatically developed around partial and immediate demands. The revolutionary act is, dialectically viewed, the sudden leap from the cumulative struggles for partial, quantitative changes within the confines of capitalism to the struggle for the consummate, qualitatively differentiated change which abolishes capitalism and ushers in the political State of the proletariat. It is the day-to-day class struggle brought to its highest expression. As the Program of the Communist International declares:

> "The Party must neither stand aloof from the daily needs and struggles of the working class nor confine its activities exclusively to them. The task of the Party is to utilize these minor every-day needs as a *starting point* from which to lead the working class to the *revolutionary struggle for power*."

The thesis that Socialism is the only way out can therefore be valid only when it postulates the necessity of organizing the daily struggles of the working class for partial demands, for concrete issues. To what extent does Mr. Corey's thesis present this necessity?

Mr. Corey, indeed, lays little stress on the subject of immediate demands in connection with the revolutionary program. His treatment of this vital topic is characterized by such a vagueness that it is tantamount to unreality. In no sense can his approach to the subject be considered a contribution to the question of developing the struggles of the American working class for partial demands. To cite one of his few utterances on the question:

> "The complications of the proletarian revolution demand the creative initiative and awareness of Marxism. They demand a policy of inflexibility and no compromise on fundamental issues with the class enemy, of balancing immediates and ultimates, of an indissoluble unity of theory and practice. But at the same time the utmost flexibility is necessary in approaching the workers, of moving with them even when their actions are characterized by half measures and weaknesses, of compromising on issues which do not involve fundamental objectives, of maneuvering in the midst of complex class relations, of combining the immediate needs and struggles of the workers with their larger class interests and purposes." (p. 510.)

The first point to be noticed is the abstractness with which the author reacts to the living actualities of revolutionary program, strategy, and tactics. This elegant "balancing of immediates and ultimates" leaves the masses none the wiser. It would seem that Mr.

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Corey has forgotten that Lenin forged the Bolshevik Party into the invincible weapon of the World Revolution precisely through his *concreteness* in approaching the problems of immediate demands and revolution. Therein lay his strength as against the Mensheviks and the Centrists. For Lenin, the substitution of the abstract for the concrete was a stumbling block in the way of proletarian revolution.

But is it abstractness alone which invalidates Mr. Corey's presentation of the question? The cause goes much deeper. His statement contains theoretical formulations which are erroneous and therefore introduce a breach between theory and practice. For, note: What does it mean when Mr. Corey places in mechanistic opposition "inflexibility on fundamental issues" to "flexibility on issues which do not involve fundamental objectives"? There are, it would appear from this, two realms—one, the rigid realm of the "ultimates"; the other, the realm where dwells the motley crowd of "immediates". That these constitute a dialectic unity of interpenetrating opposites and not a mechanical "combining", seems to have escaped the attention of Mr. Corey. For he would otherwise know that for the Marxist-Leninist, every issue, however minor, involving immediate needs, is viewed as the starting point leading to the fundamental objective, hence as involving the latter; that every partial and immediate issue of the class struggle can and must be developed so that the workers realize the revolutionary implications of that issue. For the revolutionary leaders of the proletariat there is no compromise per se or flexibility per se. Compromises in specific instances are entered into due to the necessities of the objective situation which are independent of the will of parties or leaders. The revolutionary flexibility of leaders in regard to compromises reveals itself in wresting from the class enemy the *highest possible* concessions. Here the compromise is a revolutionary compromise. As such it constitutes a part of the revolutionary education of the working class and therefore serves "the maturing of the idea of storming the citadel of capitalism" (Stalin).

Because of his mechanical correlation of "immediates and ultimates", Mr. Corey fails to see the contrast and conflict between compromise which is revolutionary and that which is opportunist. He sees compromise only as an undifferentiated abstraction.

In exemplifying the uses to which flexibility can be put, Mr. Corey informs us, this time with as much concreteness as anyone could desire, that "the utmost flexibility is necessary in approaching the workers, of moving with them even when their actions are characterized by half measures and weaknesses."

What are these "half measures and weaknesses"—and what are they due to? From Mr. Corey's words, one can conclude only that

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there is something in the proletarian make-up that renders it prone, even if only at times, to weaknesses and half-measures. We shall have occasion to deal with this question at some length in a later section of our discussion. We raise it at this point merely in connection with the present issue.

The course of historical development imposes upon the working class frequent deterrents that turn the progress to its goal into zig-zag processes, sometimes even into temporary recessions. By its very nature, the class struggle confronts the proletariat with enemy class forces that are formidable and which the working class cannot defeat at one stroke. In addition to coping with the exploiters and their repressive State power, the working class, in its will to struggle, is hampered by the alien class influences in its own midst, by the labor aristocracy, now fast narrowing down, which offers itself as a base for enemy class operations, by the corrupted leaders who stand at the head of the reformist trade unions and the social-democratic parties; it is hampered by the recurrent vacillations of its class allies who, failing at the beginning to realize the historic necessity for proletarian hegemony, struggle to steer the alliance by their petty-bourgeois world outlook.

Certainly, the charge of weakness cannot be leveled against workers when, pitted against greater odds, they find themselves compelled in a strike to yield on certain of their demands or even to return without any gains. Nor is it the workers who are prone to half-measures when a Green or a Gorman calls off a strike at the very zenith of its power and submits the demands to "arbitration". Nor, indeed, are the workers guilty of weaknesses when, in the struggle to win over or neutralize intermediary and transitional class forces, they are obliged to maneuver, temporize, and make concessions *precisely on account of the irresoluteness characterizing their non-proletarian possible allies.*

An approach such as Mr. Corey has evidenced toward this question can hardly be expected to lead to a robust policy of working class action for the realization of immediate gains.

Let us take but one important instance. The outstanding immediate demand which is agitating the American working class today is the question of unemployment and social insurance. It is an issue, not only of economic, but of high political importance, which hits at the very heart of the N.R.A. in that it demands the transference of the funds apportioned for subsidizing magnates and building war-craft to meet the needs of the exploited masses. It is the issue which is pre-eminently the basis for the unified action of the millions of unemployed and employed workers. It strikes at the capitalist way out of the crisis. Mr. Corey, in concluding his extensive survey of

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unemployment in the United States, after discussing critically the attitude of the government and the A. F. of L. Executive Council to the question of unemployment insurance, contents himself with a footnote, a last-minute reminder, so to speak, which presents his program of action for the American working class on this issue:

> "Because of this, the working class must demand and struggle for *real* unemployment insurance covering all forms of unemployment and all workers. The 'white collar' workers, whom mechanization and economic decline thrust increasingly into the surplus population, must also demand real unemployment insurance, and become allies of the wage workers." (p. 259.)

The emphasis given to the word "real" will hardly suffice to convince any worker that there is anything real about Mr. Corey's program for unemployment insurance. For, if Mr. Corey were *really* concerned with a program of action that prepares the American workers for seizing power through involving them in militant mass actions for the achievement of immediate demands, he could not have failed to speak out boldly and point to that project for unemployment and social insurance which alone is designed to benefit the working class and to put the burden of payment upon the employers and the government, the project sponsored by the Unemployment Councils and the Communist Party, and known popularly as the Workers' Bill (H.R. 7598).

The increasing popularity of this bill among the masses throughout the country; its endorsement by thousands of A. F. of L. locals, as well as by a number of State federations, in defiance of the reformist officialdom; its expression in slogan and legend in nation-wide mass demonstrations—cannot have passed unnoticed by the author of so detailed a survey of current conditions as *The Decline of American Capitalism*. To what are we to charge the vagueness in this connection, vagueness which is manifestly more than mere omission, which is obviously evasion?

The profound silence on questions of the greatest import to the American working class today is even more marked when we find in the book no reference whatever to the United Front. This question is the burning issue for the working class throughout the world. The advent of fascism in Germany accompanied by the ignominious capitulation of the principal party of the Second International, the February rising in Austria and the collapse of Austrian social-democracy, fascist formations and the introduction of the emergency decree system in France, the Mosley offensive and the introduction of the Sedition Bill in England, N.R.A. fascization in the United States, and the direct preparations for a new imperialist

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world war, have brought the question of the imperative necessity for the United Front grimly before the working class. The unification of the proletariat is a prerequisite for the revolution. To win the majority of the working class to the banner of the revolution, means, however, to struggle to win them. Never, since the Comintern was founded as the world proletarian vanguard Party to achieve the unity of the labor movement on the basis of the class struggle after that basis had been surrendered by the Second International, have the prospects been more favorable for effecting that unity. The setback sustained by the working class of Germany and Austria has served as a warning to the workers in all capitalist countries that the struggle against fascism must be waged against every manifestation of the fascizing process. As against the constitutional, democratic illusions fostered by social-democracy, the masses are everywhere pressing forward for militant class struggle. Strikes, struggles for unemployment insurance, defense of democratic rights, solidarity actions in behalf of class-war victims, actions against fascism and imperialist war—this is the answer of the workers to the onslaughts of the exploiters and their governments. Without, however, developing, without struggling to develop, common action around these concrete issues, we cannot speak of solidifying the working class for achieving immediate gains, for defeating the fascist advance, and for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

The successful formations of the United Front in France, Italy, and the Saar, fought for by the Communist Parties, have given further stimulus to the workers in all countries to enter into common action. But that there is opposition to fostering or even permitting the United Front is evidenced by the blocking policy of the Second International. The chairman of the Second International, Emil Vandervelde, made no secret of this in his recent article, "The International and the Communists",* wherein he declared:

> "It must at any rate not be kept a secret that before the executive of the Socialist and Labor International things will doubtless not go so smoothly as in the National Council of the Socialist Party of France."

This attitude is reflected in this country in that the S. P. leadership has systematically ignored or rejected—officially banned—every proposal for joint action submitted by the Communist Party, despite the wide response in the Socialist Party ranks and despite the fact that the present National Executive Committee was manifestly elected with a mandate from the membership to reverse the anti-United Front policy of the Old Guard. That the absence of a

* *Le Peuple*, July 22, 1934.

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United Front facilitates the oncoming of fascism in this country and leaves the hard-won rights of the workers at the mercy of the N.R.A. administration and the various fascist offensives, cannot be denied in view of what we see developing here and in view of the experiences of the working class in Germany, Austria, and Spain, which was kept disunited by the social-democratic leaders. The question of achieving Socialism, of defeating the fascist advance by the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, is inextricably bound up with the question of the United Front.

We search in vain through the six hundred pages of Mr. Corey's work for a single utterance on this crucial question. What is the author's position on the United Front? What construction are we to put on his silence?

The key to these questions is furnished by the attitude of Mr. Corey to the Party of the working class.

Mr. Corey professes to base himself on the positions of Marxism-Leninism. He appeals frequently to the authority of Marx's and Lenin's writings on a number of subjects. He speaks favorably of Communism and, it would appear, aims to identify himself with the Party of Communism. He demonstrates the indispensability of the proletarian Party as the leader of the working class for the seizure of power. He speaks of "the necessity of an inflexibly revolutionary and disciplined party of the most conscious and militant workers, a Communist party which, precisely because it is inflexibly agreed on fundamental purposes and means, can flexibly approach the complex conditions under which the proletariat operates, be both participant in and vanguard of the struggle of the masses, until they rally to the party's final revolutionary program and struggle for power". (p. 510.)

Isolated, this statement would, of course, give the Leninist stamp to the author's concept of the necessity of the Party. Final judgment, however, requires that we read this statement in its context with the more fully developed position on the Party as set forth in the book.

The Party of Bolshevism was characterized by its founder as "the Party of a new type which must by no means be a la Second International". Not a quantitative, but a qualitative difference separates the Leninist Party from Social-Democracy. The stage of declining capitalism, which is the era of proletarian revolution, makes necessary the existence of a vanguard proletarian Party that shall be prepared to lead the working class—allied with the toiling farmers and in hegemony over them—to the seizure of power; that shall sound the slogan demanded by the new historic era—Dictatorship of the Proletariat; that shall rouse and lead the masses, under the

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banner of proletarian internationalism, to struggle against imperialist militarism and that shall call upon the toilers in uniform and at home to transform imperialist war into revolution. The Second International was no such Party. It had served, in its progressive stage, to lay the basis for the expansion of the working class movement; but its growth was attended by the steady submission of its official leadership to the pressure of imperialist ideology until, by 1914, its unchecked opportunism had transformed it into a party of social-chauvinism, while the proletarian revolutionary elements within its ranks, enriched ideologically in the revolutionary struggle against the imperialist war, found their expression in Leninism, streamed into the formation of the Third International. The Second International was not, in the true sense, a Party of the proletariat, but, in the words of Stalin, "a bloc of heterogeneous class interests". Neither was it, in the true sense, a vanguard Party; for it blurred the demarcation between Party and class by leaving the Party doors open for the free influx of petty-bourgeois elements. Having steadily capitulated to the opportunism which found its social base in the labor aristocracy, the Second International, thanks to Kautskyan Centrism, finally succumbed to the revisionists, surrendering every position of revolutionary Marxism. For the historical-materialism of Marx and Engels, social-democracy now substituted mechanico-materialism, leading to the theory of the automatic collapse of capitalism; neo-Kantianism, denying the objective basis, hence, the scientific nature, of the Marxian principles; and various brands of philosophical idealism, all negating the essentially revolutionary character of the proletariat as a productive force. For the law of absolute increasing misery, social-democracy substituted the concept of relative increase—the Kautskyan support of Bernstein's "democratization of capital" with its corollary, the "community of interests" between the classes. For the Marxian principle of revolutionary overthrow, social-democracy now substituted reformist parliamentarism, ministerialism, and the policy of "perfecting" capitalism toward the peaceful "growth into socialism". For the Marxian principle of shattering the bourgeois State and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Second International substituted the concept of the all-class or supra-class State, the acceptance of bourgeois democracy as democracy, and hence, the necessity, not to overthrow, but to safeguard and "improve" the present social order. For the international interests of the proletariat as against the national interests of the bourgeoisie, social-democracy substituted the petty-bourgeois outlook of "a stake in the land", in accordance with Bernstein's declaration that it was no longer true that the workers have no fatherland—thus paving the way for the Great Betrayal of 1914.

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The Party of the proletariat no longer existed in social-democracy. The higher tasks imposed upon the working class in the imperialist era, demanded the "Party of a new type." Lenin, the most consistent Marxist since the death of Engels, founded that Party. He founded the Party of Bolshevism, not as an organization in any way specifically Russian, but as the Russian nucleus of the world proletarian Party called forth in the era of world imperialism. Lenin declared of Bolshevism that "it became *world* Bolshevism; it brought forth the idea, the theory, the program, and the tactics which distinguish it concretely and practically from social-chauvinism and social-pacifism. Bolshevism dealt a death-blow to the old, rotten International of the Scheidemanns and the Kautskys, of the Renaudels and the Longuets, of the Hendersons and the MacDonalds. . . ." *

Is this the Party that Mr. Corey advocates?

In treating of the suppression of working class democratic rights and organizations in his chapter, "The Crisis of the American Dream", he declares as follows:

> "State capitalism increasingly restricts the democratic rights of the workers: it 'regulates' unions and 'arbitrates' strikes, moving toward their abolition, and invigorates the persecution of *revolutionary parties* where it does not drive them underground." (p. 522—italics ours.)

Again, in discussing the struggle for power in the same chapter, he states:

> "Moderate reformist socialism wants the peaceful, gradual development of the ideals toward a new order, and is, along with them, annihilated by fascism. . . . The Communist proletariat wants to transform and realize them in the newer and finer fulfillments of socialism, precisely as it wants to transform and more fully realize the material promise of capitalist production." (p. 538.)

What is the meaning of the Party as the political leader of the working class, and why is the Marxist-Leninist Party that leader? Standing in relation to the one fundamentally revolutionary class as vanguard and the highest form of its organization, synthesizing the universal proletarian experiences into a program of revolutionary action directed toward achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat and consolidating the forces of the revolution for the construction of Socialism, the Party of Marxism-Leninism, by its nature and function, has and can alone have the program for the revolutionary way out, and as such, its establishment as a strong Communist mass

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* *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (German translation), Verlag fuer Literatur und Politik, Wien-Berlin, p. 74.

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Party supported by the decisive sections of the proletariat is the sole guarantee for final victory. The principle which makes this Party monolithic—the expression of the hegemonic class—makes it also unique—the single, exclusive Party of the working class. To share its guiding role with another party would be to denote that Marxism-Leninism is inadequate to serve as the basis for the complete program of revolutionary action; would be to return to the pre-Bolshevist stage of working class theory and organization; would be to fork the road of the working class.

Stalin, in summing up Lenin's further development of Marx's teachings on the Party, lays great stress on this principle. "The dictatorship of the proletariat", he declares, "can be complete only in the event that it is led by one party, the Party of the Communists, which does not and should not share its leadership with other parties." *

To see between the Communist Party and social-democracy, unity in purpose and difference only in method; to see the one as wanting to realize "more fully" and the other through "gradual development", but both as wanting what is essentially the same thing —"socialism", "a new order", is to deny the quintessence of Leninism, is to attempt to disestablish the Leninist Party which is historically revolutionary by the very fact that social-democracy has become historically a force against revolution. Mr. Corey, one is impressed, has not given evidence of a clear understanding of the dialectics of end and means. Socialism, which is neither a fixed, predestined idea independent of specific social contradictions, nor a pragmatic working hypothesis, nor a speculative projection, is a scientifically determinable outcome, envisaged as a historic necessity arising from the basic contradiction between the forces and relations of production under capitalism. The Communist program is shaped by the consciousness of this historic necessity, the end giving purposiveness and resoluteness to the means which in turn, of course, function to accelerate the realization of the end. End and means are thus interrelated through dialectic necessity. Hence, Lenin declares:

> "The movement itself is to be considered, not only from the viewpoint of the past, but also from the viewpoint of the future."**

Opportunism, which would seek to sacrifice the principle in the objective for a temporary advantage, is not a relation to means which the Marxist-Leninist program can accept. It is, on the contrary, expelled as abhorrent to Communist strategy. Parliamentarism as

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* *Problems of Leninism*, Russian text, Ninth Edition, p. 267.
** *Collected Works*, Vol. XVIII, p. 40—Russian Edition.

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a means in the strategy of social-democracy is not the parliamentarism of the Communist Party. One, proceeding from the theory of ultra-imperialism, converts the votes of its followers into endorsements of the present order; the other, having before it the purpose of shattering the bourgeois State, turns its parliamentary tactics into revolutionary practice. The method of Bolshevism is *qualitatively different* from the method of social-democracy because the goals of the two parties are different.

It is significant that leaders of the social-democratic parties repeatedly advance as an argument against the United Front the contention that the programmatic differences are insuperable. Despite the fact that they would like to have it thought that they are really socialists at heart, that they outdistance the Communists when it comes to the question of goal, they nonetheless, in a spirit of noble self-sacrifice, it would seem, declare themselves ready to forego the goal, if thereby the programmatic principles can be made to appear as insuperable difficulties for the United Front. Or, the contrary argument advanced in such instances may be: "Communist tactics". As for goal, we can get together, but it's the tactics that stand in the way! This demagogy coincides, of course, with the anti-dialectic separation of means from end, with the theory of "peaceful growth" into the socialist goal. The Communists, on the contrary, who declare boldly that what distinguishes fundamentally the Communist from the social-democratic program is goal and *therefore* means, nonetheless, or rather, for that reason, find in the programmatic differences a basis for the United Front on concrete, immediate issues.

True, in saying social-democracy "wants the peaceful, gradual development of the ideals toward a new order", Mr. Corey does not subscribe to the realisibility of the new order by such means. We have here, however, the ascription to social-democracy of an outlook and a striving toward a new order, presumably Socialism. In this sense, then, social-democracy merits being considered in the true sense a Socialist Party, indeed, a Marxist Party, unless Mr. Corey admits non-Marxian Socialism. Accordingly, the historic split between Bolshevism and Menshevism has not taken place, or, if it has, should not have taken place. The perfidy of social-democracy in 1914 and the subsequent twenty years that have left a trail of treachery in the wake of its movements, still leave it essentially a force for Socialism. . . . Such loyalty—were it not to disloyalty!

Is this, however, a true characterization of social-democracy? Has not history demonstrated the truth of Lenin's declaration that without social-democracy as its main social support, present-day capitalism could not maintain itself? Could capitalism today wage

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its imperialist wars but for its justified confidence that the leaderships of the Second International parties and of the reformist trade unions will deliver the working class to the war lords by drumming the demagoguery of patriotism; by voting the war credits; by officially "calling off" the class struggle; by proclaiming, as did Kautsky, that the International is "an instrument of peace time"; by declaring, as did the war-time creature of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats—the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy: "We recognize in this great struggle at arms a war that is essentially *labor's war*"; by hinting, as did the "Leftized" Norman Thomas * immediately after the famous "anti-war" resolution had been pressed upon the Detroit Convention of the S.P. by the rank and file: "If by some miracle there is a wholly different type of war, there will be plenty of time in the light of socialist principles to change our position."—? Could the capitalists and their governments throttle the giant strikes of the working class, if they had not the Citrines and Leiparts, the Jouhaux and the Greens, with their "socialist" accomplices a la Dubinsky and Emil Rieve, and their shields a la Norman Thomas?** Would a Roosevelt administration be able to put over its fascist-featured N.R.A. but for the ballyhoo of the A. F. of L. leaders, who elicited from the N.R.A. administrator, General Hugh Johnson, the glowing tribute in his address of March 7 of this year to the capitalist owners of this land: "I want to tell you this for your comfort. I know your problems. I would rather deal with Bill Green, John Lewis, Ed McGrady, Mike MacKonough, George Berry and a host of others I could name, than with any Frankenstein that you may build up under the guise of a company union. In fact —take it from me and a wealth of experience—their interests are your interests."—? Would a Roosevelt expect to carry through his program as a measure for "the forgotten man", if in that expectation he did not include the support of the Socialist Party spokesmen who in their "socialist" way would declare of the "New Deal":

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* *New Leader*, June 16, 1934.

** We need but remember how, on the very morrow of the betrayal of the San Francisco and Textile General Strikes, the *New Leader* (October 13, 1934) whitewashed the A. F. of L. in headlining the news of its Convention: "A. F. of L. Fights Fascism"(!). This, of course, is quite in keeping with the fact that Emil Rieve, S.P. leader and member of the United Textile Workers' Executive Board, was co-signatory with Gorman to the order which called off and betrayed the strike.

The shielding role of Norman Thomas is shown in this connection by his typical condonement of blackguardism in strike leadership, which appeared in the *New Leader* for September 29: "Gorman and the Strike Committee did a good job with the resources at their disposal, but those resources were woefully inadequate."

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"The great hope of the New Deal is that it may make it a little easier for the masses of true workers in farm, mine, factory, school, laboratory, office and wherever the honest work of the world is done to advance toward a truly Socialist society."*—and who, in consequence would advise the workers: "I think strikes are inadvisable at present."**—? Could, indeed, capitalism have succeeded in holding back so long the revolutionary assault upon its system; could it have retarded the rallying of the majority of the working class to the banner of revolution, but for the unfailing service it received through all these years at the hands of the social-democratic leaders?

From his evident assumption that between the Communist Party and social-democracy there is a concordant parallel movement, one thoroughgoing, the other moderate, in the direction of Socialism, Mr. Corey is led to conclude that what he calls "reformist socialism" is, as such, a force against fascism. He is led to confuse such genuine rank-and-file actions as whole social-democratic branches including groups of functionaries fighting shoulder to shoulder with Communists against fascist attacks, with the attitude of social-democracy as such. Thus, in dealing with the ballyhoo at the initiation of the N.R.A., while he enumerates various representative demagogues—senators and magnates, editors and bankers, General Johnson and Frances Perkins and William Green, with their respective characterizations of the Act, he leaves conspicuously unincluded Norman Thomas, who "did his bit" for the New Deal. The omission is not of merely just another ballyhooer, but of the foremost leader of the Socialist Party. Certainly, if Mr. Corey is desirous of having his readers recognize the forces making for or against the acceptance of the N.R.A., he cannot honestly have withheld from them Thomas' avowed approval of the Roosevelt program. If he believes the N.R.A. to be anti-working class, if he sees it moving "toward the liquidation of labor and government or 'corporate' unions akin to fascism" (p. 496), if he perceives American imperialist policy making "deliberate use of the N.R.A. to strengthen war preparations" (p. 484), consistency should have made him point to the forces which the working class must overcome to overcome the N.R.A. How, indeed, will he explain the sweeping rank-and-file

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* Norman Thomas, *New York Herald Tribune*, September 10, 1933.

** Norman Thomas, *New York Herald Tribune*, August 8, 1933.

In declaring that the N.R.A. "is not a step toward socialism", the Resolution adopted by the Detroit Convention of the S.P. apparently committed Thomas to a reversal of his previous position. But this reversal is reduced to nothing when it expresses itself in whitewashing the N.R.A.-accommodating strike-breaker Gorman. Such action constitutes surrender to the Old Guard.

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dissatisfaction with the official S.P. position on the Roosevelt program, as a result of which the Detroit Convention was obliged to declare itself officially opposed to the N.R.A.?

The failure to mention the avowed position taken toward the N.R.A. at its enactment by the Socialist Party top leadership is not mere oversight on the part of Mr. Corey; it is to be noted in connection with his treatment of social-democracy generally. It is, one may say, a large-heartedness proceeding from the assumption that the Second International parties are, after all, Socialist. In fact, Mr. Corey evinces a tenderness for the very "reformism" of "reformist socialism". Note how he writes of Austrian social-democracy:

> "Capitalism in decline reacts against reform, as it reacts against progress in general; it moves toward the abolition of reform and its achievements. The workers of Vienna were proud of their model dwellings, built by a socialist administration. This monument to reform was battered down by the cannon of the capitalist state in its efforts to crush the militant workers." (p. 505.)

Fascism came to Austria, according to this picture of pathos, over and against the strivings of Austro-Marxism. Fascism arose, holds Mr. Corey, because social-democracy lost in its struggle against it. But what Mr. Corey does not see is that, despite the Left-radicalization of its broad membership, including many of its functionaries; despite the mood for militant revolutionary struggle that characterized the social-democratic workers—a mood that translated itself into magnificent heroism in action in the February days—that despite this, social-democracy did not—*could not, by its basic ideology*—enter into the struggle against fascism. What he does not see is that Austro-Marxism had painted a picture of Vienna as a Socialist city, of the municipal houses as edifices of Socialism. "To maintain here an island of democratic liberty", was the task Otto Bauer assigned to the Austrian working class at the emergency Conference of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party in 1932. "What failed of attainment in Paris, what no State in the world has hitherto achieved . . . what the Paris Commune desired, the Vienna Commune realized. . . . The Commune Vienna shows us the way along which international socialism will achieve the world", jubilated Kautsky in 1927 with mole-like Menshevik vision—two months before the Viennese proletariat rose in arms against their "Commune"!*

A "socialist" city dominated by the House of Rothschild and the House of Hengel! A "socialist" Town Council administering for domestic and foreign capital! A city of "socialism" under a State

* "Die Pariser und die Wiener Kommune," *Arbeiterzeitung*, May 1, 1927.

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of capitalism!—This was Austro-Marxism. What need then to overthrow the existing State? "It was the rule but not the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie", declared Otto Bauer.* Therefore, the Communists, those who sought to achieve that overthrow, were branded by the Austro-Marxist leadership as destroyers of Socialism. "For me", a Zeinitzer could declare, years before his open desertion, "the United Front with the fascists is ten times more desirable than with the Communists."** And so, in harmony with the dictates of the decisive section of the Austrian big bourgeoisie which, strongly controlled by French finance capital, worked for the foreign political isolation of Germany, Austro-Marxism taught the Austrian workers that the principal enemy was not within the land, but without; that the fascist menace was in Germany, not in Austria; that to defend their "democratic island", they must unite with the "lesser evil", Dollfuss—must renounce the class struggle at home.***

The perception of the present-day character of social-democracy is bound up directly with the task of rallying the majority of the working class to the banner of revolution, of winning the toiling farmers and the urban petty bourgeoisie to the side of the proletariat as revolutionary allies. To meet this question adequately, we must, to begin with, view social-democracy in the state in which it finds itself at present—in its flux, in the dynamics of its disintegration.

The rejection of bourgeois-democratic constitutionalism by fascism risen to power and its steady breakdown in varying degrees of rapidity in the bourgeois-democratic governmental systems undergoing fascization, have brought world social-democracy to a crisis. On the one hand, social-democracy as such—the platform; the apparatus; the leadership in its decisive, traditional section—clings to the policy of class collaboration, on a basis that it would prefer to be that of "democracy", which in bourgeois society can, of course, be nothing but bourgeois democracy. To this end it will foster among the masses during the process of fascization the illusions of legalism and constitutionalism, urging the working class to make a United Front with a "lesser evil" which somehow always happens to be the home bourgeoisie and which somehow always turns out in

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* *Der Kampf*, July, 1933.

** Cited by Von Gustav, "Die Austromarxismus und der Februaraufstand", *Rundschau*, Basel, 22 Februar, 1934.

*** "Even after Sunday, February 12, the representatives of the party leadership sought to pacify the indignant workers, and sought to hold them back from beginning the struggle. But the anger of the masses had already reached such a high pitch that the warnings of the party leadership did not help any more."—Otto Bauer, in a dispatch to the New York *Jewish Daily Forward*, March 10, 1934.

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the end to have been meanwhile preparing its fascist rule. German and Austrian social-democracy are classic instances of this type of social-democratic "leadership". But the German and Austrian experiences with social-democracy have taught the world working class a great lesson—the lesson of organizing for the decisive revolutionary defeat of fascism, both where it is in power and where it is advancing to gain power. The maturing world revolutionary crisis is bringing the working class everywhere into open militant conflicts with the State forces of the bourgeoisie. Every struggle for bread, for unemployment relief; every strike; every action in defense of workers' rights—becomes from day to day in the consciousness of the workers more and more the struggle for the way out. The need for unity in struggle is felt elementally by all sections of the working class. The efforts of social-democracy to keep the Socialist workers sundered from the Communist workers are becoming increasingly of less avail. The workers in their further radicalization instinctively tend toward the Party of Communism. The heroism of the illegal Communist Parties of Germany and Austria working *within* those lands among the masses, indomitably, against the fiercest terror, holding their ranks and gaining new forces as leaders of the working class, has aroused the admiration of large sections of social-democratic workers who see the remains of their scattered erstwhile leadership residing émigré-fashion in Prague and Bruenn.

Social-democracy, discredited in the eyes of the masses for having strengthened the hand of the State in bringing about fascism, is compelled now to resort to various maneuvers of penitence. In Germany and Austria, where social-democracy has been utterly decomposed, there is taking place a strong mass pressure for united revolutionary action against the fascist regime. As social-democratic workers are increasingly turning away from the Prague and Bruenn emigration centers, the influence and the authority of the illegal Communist Parties are visibly growing. No central German or Austrian social-democratic organization exists any longer, while the mass influx of social-democratic members into the Communist Party can be gauged by the fact that at the Twelfth Congress of the Austrian Communist Party held in September, it was shown that two-thirds of the present membership of the Party have come over since the February events and by the fact that half of the newly-elected Central Committee were former social-democratic functionaries that have joined the Communist Party since the February events. The havoc which the dynamics of the present situation is working in German social-democracy is evidenced by the presence in it of at least three distinct groupings with three distinct platforms. The Prague emigration center constitutes two of the groups. Group I is openly for in-

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corporation into fascism. In the official organ of the Prague leadership, *Deutsche Freiheit*, for September 12, that group declares:

> "The Hitlerian counter-revolution has made an end to the liberal bureaucratic democracy of the Weimar Republic and has with its national ideology set free the forces for a rigorous fully-organized planned economy. . . ."
>
> "At the same time, it signifies a new transition epoch into which German capitalism has entered. . . ."
>
> "It is progressive capitalism and the clearing away of the debris for socialism; it is a piece of socialism. . . ."

We have in this statement the fullest confirmation of the declaration made by the Communist Party that the role of German social-democracy was to lead the working class under the guise of "democracy" into the camp of fascism. Another section of the Prague leadership, the "Lefts", continue in the same central organ to speak in favor of "democracy", of coalition governments, of bourgeois parliamentarism. This group complements the first by endeavoring, with talk of restoring democracy, to prevent the revolutionary overthrow of fascism and capitalism as a whole. The third group, the "revolutionists", pretend to be altogether different from the old social-democracy. Realizing the mood of the working class for proletarian, revolutionary struggle; sensing the inroads that are being made by the Communist Parties into the ranks of the workers —these "revolutionists" avow in phrases principles of Communism. They speak of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of revolution, of the United Front; but their real purpose can be seen from such propaganda as "the terrific defeat in Germany which shattered both the erstwhile great working class parties"; the need for a "revolutionary, socialist, united party"; the Communist Party is isolated from the masses because it is "dependent on Moscow, whose foreign section it is and in consequence of which it is utilized as an outpost for the National-Bolshevist policy". The obvious purpose of this "revolutionary" social-democracy is to isolate the revolutionary Party of the German working class from the masses; to check the growing influence of the Communist driving force that is rallying the masses in a United Front of struggle against fascism; and, by speaking of a "revolutionary, socialist, united party", to liquidate the Communist Party, to destroy the growing allegiance of the class-conscious proletariat to the Comintern, and to rehabilitate the shattered party of the Second International. The chicanery of such "revolutionists" is, however, a barometer of the Left-radicalization of the social-democratic workers, of their growing sympathy for the program of the Communist Party. It is a barometer of the Machiavellianism to which bankrupt social-democracy is compelled to resort

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in the face of the revolutionization of illegally-functioning social-democratic groups in Germany and Austria. These groups, although terming themselves social-democratic, are no longer social-democracy in the proper sense of the word. They exemplify the social-democratic proletarian rank-and-file and lower functionaryship in the process of liberating themselves from the leadership which has so long held them subject to the forces of reaction. In Austria large sections of the former "Left" opposition merged soon after the February events with the Communist Party. In June, the Red Front, organized after the February events by groups of the former "Left" opposition, likewise united with the Communist Party. Various socialist groups, and lower organizations of the Revolutionary Socialists, sent delegates to the recent Congress of the Communist Party.

The Left-radicalization of social-democratic workers is visible everywhere. In Poland, for instance, the Socialist Party is in ferment; against the dictates of the Central Committee, the Warsaw District Conference, the Lublin District Committee, sub-districts of Lodz and Warsaw City, have declared for the immediate establishment of the United Front. In the United States, we see alongside of the growth of the Socialist Party, which reflects the general mass radicalization in the country, a definite process of disintegration. Due to the pressure of the proletarian rank-and-file members and followers who are genuinely desiring a Socialist program of action, the Oneal-Waldman-Cahan Old Guard was defeated at the last Convention of the party. Norman Thomas tries to canalize the Leftward mood of the rank and file by talking "Left", although in all of his actions he has shown himself to be capitulating to the Old Guard—to wit, on the question of strike policy and the United Front. Analogous in some respects to the third group in Germany are some of the leading elements of the Revolutionary Policy Committee which talks in Red phrases but whose leading spokesmen showed their true colors at the Detroit Convention when they bartered their right to introduce their resolution for a seat on the new National Executive Committee, and who have since then failed to engage in a single act of promoting the United Front. But as such, the position occupied by Thomas and the platform of the R.P.C. are a definite, though distorted, indication of the urge to the Left on the part of the rank-and-file membership and following of the American Socialist Party—an urge that is manifesting itself increasingly in spontaneous "outlaw" actions for United Front campaigns with the Communists, an urge that represents the growing sympathy of the social-democratic workers for the Communist Party. The most hopeful development in the Socialist Party from the point

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of view of the United Front is the *organized* movement among considerable sections of the rank and file for immediate United Front action with the Communists. We need but look at the activities of such formations as the Committee for Socialist Action for the United Front; at the United Front negotiations between the Italian Section of the Communist Party and the Italian Federation of the Socialist Party; at the United Front pact between the C.P. Section of Trumbull County, Ohio, and the corresponding organization of the S.P.; and at similar developments in parts of Illinois, Louisiana, and Massachusetts. We do not discuss here the vital struggle for the United Front in the trade unions, which is basic for achieving the unity of action of the American working class.

How does Mr. Corey meet this most important question of the Leftward pressure of the social-democratic workers and of the relationship of the proletarian rank and file to the social-democratic leadership? The following statement is significant:

> "The proletariat must strike ruthlessly when the moment is favorable; otherwise its forces may break apart, temporarily but still disastrously, as capitalism is favored by the institutional weight of its economic, cultural and political domination. For if the proletariat, where the conditions are favorable, does not seize power, if it compromises with capitalism instead of destroying it (as in Germany in 1919), there is an inevitable if temporary renewal and consolidation of capitalist supremacy. The proletariat is susceptible to the lures and wiles of reformism, prone to weaknesses and half measures, hampered by the conservatism of its organizations and their bureaucracy, which avoid and betray revolutionary struggle." (pp. 509-510.)

We frequently hear social-democratic leaders defend themselves by countering: How can we act otherwise when the workers hold back? We are, after all, only representatives of the masses and we cannot push forward to revolution when they are ready to compromise. This argument was advanced last year by Otto Wels at the Paris Congress of the Second International. No resistance, said Wels, was possible in 1932 because there was no militancy among the workers.*

With such explanations does the treacherous social-democratic leadership which delivered the German proletariat into the toils of fascism seek to whitewash itself. But the very fact that a corrupt purveyor for fascism stands up to explain away his treachery, is in

* As reported by the Bundist leader, Heinrich Ehrlich: *The Struggle for Revolutionary Socialism*, New York, 1934, p. 18.

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itself proof evident that he feels the sting of the workers' incensement. To save their faces, the betrayers, however, attempt to place the onus on the masses below. And so, the rise of fascism in Germany is to be charged, not to the Severings and the Welses and the Leiparts, but to the working class which, alas, held back the valorous arms of the social-democratic stalwarts.

This is essentially the theoretical fare on which Mr. Corey feeds us. In November, 1918, as everyone knows, Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets were set up in Germany. The bourgeois State was overthrown; the working class had seized power. No less an enemy of revolutionary overthrow than Karl Kautsky had to admit:

> "In November, 1918, the Revolution was the work of the proletariat alone. The proletariat won so all-powerful a position that the bourgeois elements at first did not dare to attempt any resistance."*

The German proletarian revolution was not only not led by the social-democratic leaders, but was effected against their will, against their systematic efforts to prevent it. Scheidemann actually admitted this in 1922 in the course of a libel lawsuit in Berlin, declaring: "The imputation that social-democracy wanted or prepared the revolution is a ridiculous, stupid lie of our opponents."** Not only did Ebert and other such leaders oppose the dethronement of the bourgeoisie, but even that of the Kaiser.*** It was only through the

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* Author's Introduction to the 3rd Edition of *The Proletarian Revolution*, 1931.

** R. Palme Dutt, who cites this statement in his admirable book, *Fascism and Social Revolution* (pp. 112-113), cites also from the evidence given in a libel suit at Munich in November, 1925, by General Groener, Chief of the German General Staff at the time of the November Revolution:

> "On November 10, 1918, I had a telephone conversation with Ebert, and we concluded an alliance to fight Bolshevism and Sovietism and restore law and order. . . .
>
> "Every day between 11 p.m. and 1 a.m. the staff of the High Command talked to Ebert on a special secret telephone. From November 10 our immediate object was to wrest power in Berlin out of the hands of the Councils of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies."

*** Scheidemann makes no secret of this in his memoirs—*The Making of a New Germany*—when he speaks of the privy conferences held by Ebert with the last Imperial Chancellor, Prince Max von Baden. In the course of one of these meetings, the memoirs reveal, the Prince asked the social-democratic President: "Shall I have you at my side in the fight against the Social Revolution?" Ebert replied: "If the Kaiser does not abdicate, Social Revolution must come. But I don't want it; I hate it like sin." Elsewhere in the memoirs, the Chancellor is quoted as having declared: "The Revolution is on the eve of success; we cannot smash it, but perhaps we can throttle it. . . . If the abdicating Kaiser appoints Ebert Chancellor, there is a faint hope for the monarchy."

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pressure of the victorious Entente Powers who threatened to hold up the peace negotiations that the German social-democratic leaders consented to request Wilhelm's abdication—and this, in the hope that thereby they would save Germany from becoming a republic.* In 1919, the proletarian revolution was shot down in blood under a social-democratic government, a social-democratic government that compromised with the Junkers, that united with the counter-revolutionary forces of the old order. And Mr. Corey accuses the German working class of having compromised with capitalism! Can we call this anything but a deliberate exculpation of the Noskes and the Scheidemanns and the Eberts, those who compromised and betrayed, whose hands strangled the revolution and set free the forces of nascent fascism? What matter that Mr. Corey speaks of the proletariat as being "hampered by the conservatism of its organizations and the bureaucracy which avoid and betray revolutionary struggle", when in the same breath he charges it with being "susceptible to the lures and wiles of reformism, prone to weaknesses and half-measures"? If this is the proletariat, what other leadership does it deserve, what other leadership can it bring forth? Indeed, in the ranks of a working class so abject and slavish, a Luxembourg and a Liebknecht have no place, and it is, one might say, a stroke of poetic justice that they are removed from the scene, murdered by the conniving hands of the "deserved" leaders as meddlers against the will of this working class "prone to weaknesses and **half-measures"!**

Mr. Corey's account of the role of the German working class in 1919 is traceable to his fundamental conception of the nature of the proletariat, formulated in the following differentiation that he seeks to draw between the bourgeoisie in its revolutionary stage and the proletariat.

> "The bourgeoisie was a propertied class, the proletariat is not propertied . . . but property was a source of strength to the bourgeoisie, its lack a source of weakness to the proletariat." (p. 507.)

In support of this contention, Mr. Corey adduces a long passage from DeLeon's *Two Pages From Roman History"*, which contains the statements:

> "Wealth imparts strength, strength self-reliance [. . .] Poverty breeds lack of self-reliance. Material insecurity suggests temporary devices. Sops and lures become captivating baits [. . .] Obviously the difference I have been pointing out between the bourgeois and the present, the proletarian, revolutionary forces shows the bourgeois to have been sound, while the proletarian, incomparably more powerful by its numbers, to be afflicted with a certain weakness

* Scheidemann, *Vorwaerts*, December 6, 1922.

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under fire, a weakness that, unless the requisite measures of counter action be taken, must inevitably cause the course of history to be materially deflected."*

This "weakness under fire" which DeLeon speaks of becomes for Mr. Corey the fountainhead from which he draws his theory of the revolutionary capacities of the working class. And what of the revolutionary annals of the world proletariat? The Lyons Uprising; the glorious June Days of 1848; the Communard "heaven-stormers of Paris"; the Russian 1905; the October Revolution which brought a vast empire under workers' rule; the Soviets in Hungary and Bavaria; the Spartacide risings in Germany; the Canton Commune; the February Days in Austria; the revolutionary struggles in Spain; the magnificent revolutionary tradition of the American working class—Haymarket, the Pullman Strike of '94, Bloody Homestead, the Ludlow Massacre; the valiant strikes of the steel workers, miners, tetxile workers, longshoremen; the General Strikes of Seattle, San Francisco; the great General Strike of the textile workers; the heroic struggles of the working class wherever capitalism reigns—these are wiped out of existence with a penstroke by DeLeon-Corey!

And what is the source of this "weakness under fire"? The proletariat's lack of property, we are told—in other words, the attribute which is *the very nature* of the proletariat! It is by its propertylessness that the proletariat has its being. And it is its propertylessness, as the *Communist Manifesto* declares, which makes of the proletarians the fundamentally revolutionary class, which gives them, in fact, their historic revolutionary task: "They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for, and insurances of, individual property." It is because the workers have nothing to lose but their chains that the *Manifesto* proclaims: "Let the ruling class tremble at a Communistic revolution." But according to our "Marxist" and the master he venerates, their having nothing to lose reduces the proletarians to weakness.

According to DeLeon-Corey, the strength of the proletariat must logically be derived from that which is not the source of its weakness; it must be derived from property. Its self-reliance must be sought in that which imparts strength—in possessorship. And since self-reliance and strength mean in the Marxist sense class-consciousness and organization, the working class cannot look for

* Note, too, the striking similarity in phrasing between Mr. Corey's "susceptible to the lures and wiles of reformism, prone to weaknesses and half measures" and DeLeon's: "The characteristic weakness of the proletariat renders it prone to lures." (*Two Pages From Roman History*, p. 70.)

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these to its own nature but to an other-class nature which has more than chains to lose.

The abjectness in which DeLeon-Corey beholds the working class is nothing but the petty-bourgeois lack of faith in the capacity of the proletariat to achieve its own liberation. Not only is this "measurement" of working class strength not an evaluation of the proletariat as the subjective factor in the era of proletarian revolution, but it is, in the full sense of the expression, a denial of the proletariat as a class for itself. In the very historic moment when *Soviet Power* has become the leading slogan of the world proletariat, the vision of DeLeon-Corey is of a working class thrown back to the helplessness of an auxiliary of the bourgeoisie in the Third Estate.

Why is it that the petty bourgeoisie, resting on property, is not the "gravedigger" of bourgeois domination? Why is it not, like the proletariat, a class for itself, but remains at the stage of a class in itself? The answer lies in its very propertyhood. Because it has, or feels it has, a stake in the land, it is difficult for it to wrest itself free from subjugation to capitalism and to turn its criticism of capitalism into annihilating, revolutionary criticism. Only the proletariat can sharpen its criticism into a weapon of destruction. And only in accepting the revolutionary guidance of the proletariat does the petty bourgeoisie become a force of the revolution.

The strength that DeLeon-Corey feels the working class lacks in its nature is the "strength" with which Bernstein sought to endow it—the "strength" of the "democratization of capital". The invigoration wherewith he wants to rid the proletariat of its "anemia" is by a blood-transfusion from the veins of the petty bourgeoisie. The alliance which he conceives between proletariat and middle class is the adjustment of the proletarian consciousness to the outlook of the petty bourgeoisie.

Mr. Corey's proletariat is prevented by its very nature from rising to the position of leadership. Notwithstanding his statements in one or two places that the middle class must seek the leadership of the proletariat, the latter cannot, through the natural disabilities which Mr. Corey ascribes to it, aspire to the role of hegemony. And where there is no proletarian hegemony there can be no proletarian revolution.

But, Mr. Corey may argue: I speak of the proletariat as the carrier of Socialism; I speak of revolutionary overthrow, the struggle for power; I speak of the dictatorship of the proletariat! But we have had occasion to see how socialism and socialism are not alike; how power and power, how dictatorship and dictatorship, even of the proletariat, may mean different things with different

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proponents. We have seen, for instance, how, due to the pressure of the masses, the Second International at its recent Paris Congress was compelled to put on its agenda the heading, "The Socialist Struggle for Power". On that question, a minority resolution was submitted, representing the views of "Left" groupings in the Second International. That document was the manifesto by which the "better" social-democrats, "the new beginnings", sought to rally the Leftward-moving mass membership and following of the social-democratic parties. The resolution was signed by the majority of the American delegation to the Congress. On their return, the majority delegates submitted their report to the membership of the American Socialist Party. We are enabled from this report to acquire an insight into the "power" for which these "better" social-democrats voted at the Congress. Let the following statement speak for itself:

> "While the International has suffered heavy losses elsewhere, it has won an inspiring victory in Spain where the Socialist Party is showing not only that it knows how to win power but also how to hold and conserve it for the workers. The parties of Denmark and Sweden have reached the stage where they must be reckoned with as government forces. It is to be hoped that participation in coalition governments will not work to delay the final and complete triumph of their working classes." *

Woe to the proletariat having such "power"! The cry of the workers turned into a shibboleth! Since the State of capitalism need not be destroyed, since the policy of coalition government need not be surrendered—Long live the slogan of "Power"!

And has the slogan, "Dictatorship of the Proletariat", fared better in the hands of these ultra-"Lefts"? The Revolutionary Policy Committee, which, in the present disintegration of social-democracy, is most alert to the Left-radicalization of the social-democratic masses who are evidencing a movement in the direction of the Communist Party, issued at the beginning of this year its celebrated *Appeal to the Membership of the Socialist Party*. In that document which was designed to "revolutionize" the American Socialist Party, under a section entitled "The Road to Power", we find the R.P.C. declaring itself in favor of "the dictatorship of the proletariat". A front-rank leader of the R.P.C., David Felix, now a member of the National Executive Committee of the S.P. since the Detroit Convention, was one of the four majority delegates

* Special Conference, Labor and Socialist International, Report of the American Delegates; Socialist Party of America, Chicago; p. 4.

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who submitted the above-stated plea for "power"—and, so far as he, the R.P.C. representative, was concerned, "the dictatorship of the proletariat"—*a la* Spain, Denmark, and Sweden!

Or, take the recent declarations of the leading "theoretician" of Austro-Marxism, Max Adler. In October, 1933, Adler wrote in *Der Kampf*, the theoretical organ of Austrian social-democracy:

> "It is precisely the formal quality of democracy in the class State which makes it all the more necessary to fill its form with a proletarian content and to transform it thus into a fighting weapon of the working class, indeed, even to shape it into a means for the revolutionary transition, into the dictatorship of the proletariat."

In true Two-and-a-Half International manner, this veteran of "Left" speech and Right deed attempts to embrace the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to strangle it. He, the poet laureate of Austro-Marxism who has all along sung odes to "true democracy", has now been compelled to attune himself to the mood of the working class masses for the dictatorship of the proletariat. But what is his "dictatorship of the proletariat"? It is something which comes about after the bourgeois State has been filled with a proletarian content and turned into a weapon to achieve the revolutionary transition! Pour your proletarian strength, your revolutionary urge, into the "formal quality of democracy", and you will have the dictatorship of the proletariat! The old Karl Kautsky masked for the Viennese ball! The bourgeois State form remains, but is filled with a proletarian content! That the political superstructure, the State, is form by virtue of its specific, inalienable content; that the form of the bourgeois State differs *qualitatively* from the form of the proletarian State due to the qualitatively different class content in each of these States—altogether escapes our "Marxist" dean. That the bourgeois State has the self-perpetuating form corresponding to the essence of an exploiting class that strives to maintain itself perpetually in power and that the proletarian State has the form of a revolutionary transition State, a State that is "no longer a State in the proper sense of the word", corresponding to the essence of a class that consciously fulfills its historic task of building the classless, Stateless society—these things do not exist in the "dialectics" of Austro-Marxism.

There is something not altogether unrelated between Adler's conception of form and content and Mr. Corey's. In his chapter, "The Crisis of the American Dream", Mr. Corey speaks of "ideals" in these words:

> "As the bourgeois revolution thrust its ideals beyond immediate class objectives, so the idea of progress soared beyond its class-economic origins. It released the forces of the human will, created

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> a new approach to the world, made man feel himself capable of mastering his fate. [p. 535] . . . Unlike fascism, which repudiates progress and all its ideals, communism accepts them as historical forces in transition (bourgeois society is the most transitional of all social systems) towards new forms and fulfillments, cleansing them of the elements and limitations identified with class exploitation and property." (p. 539.)

As with Adler the proletariat must pour its essence into the bourgeois State to make of it an instrument for realizing the dictatorship of the proletariat, so here Communism accepts and "cleanses" of its limitations "progress and all its ideals" (listed in the chapter as Liberty, Democracy, Equality, Mass well-being, Opportunity, Education, No class stratification, Limited government, Peace, and Progress)! What, in the theses and resolutions of social-democracy, differs essentially from the ideas here presented? If, let us say, we were to substitute in the cited passage the word *social-democracy* for *communism*, can Mr. Corey conscientiously declare that a Bauer, or a Norman Thomas, or, for that matter, an Abe Cahan, would decline to undertake the acceptance and the cleansing? To confer upon Communism the functions of social-democracy is to Menshevize Bolshevism.

Mr. Corey's ideals run like a Hegelian Absolute Idea, ever perfecting themselves, through bourgeois society, through the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the classless society. It is an axiom of Marxism that the dominant ideas of a class society are the ideas of the ruling class, that the mode of production in a given society gives rise to and determines corresponding "social, political and spiritual processes of life". For Mr. Corey, however, "the bourgeois revolution thrust its ideals beyond immediate class objectives"; thrust them, if the words have any meaning, toward a beyond-capitalist mode of production, to become the ideals of the new revolutionary class, the proletariat. In fact, it would seem, when the parent capitalism, in his fascist fury, disowns them and turns them out of doors, Communism accepts them, cleanses them and rears them "toward new forms and fulfillments". "Hence the decay of the democratic spirit while the forms and ideal persist. Now the mere ideal is dangerous to capitalism and it is the object of a growing offensive. . . . Even in its incomplete bourgeois form, democracy has enriched the values of civilization, particularly the *possibility* of enriching them still more. Capitalism in decline, not democracy, now revolts against civilization and degrades its value, for it is the revolt against the ideal of a creative democracy of free men and women." (pp. 521-22).

And this in the name of Marxism-Leninism!

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What we have here is nothing but a metaphysical, idealistic concept of democracy, civilization, and the entire decalogue of ideals revealed to Mr. Corey in the "American Dream". Should it be necessary to repeat to a Marxist that democracy without class content is a myth, that democracy under capitalism is never anything but bourgeois democracy because the bourgeoisie found in it the most useful form for its dictatorship? Should it be necessary to restate that when monopoly capital resorts to open, terroristic dictatorship, it does not revolt against "the ideal of a creative democracy" but plainly discards bourgeois democracy as a form of rule no longer suited? Had Mr. Corey included the theses of the Communist International or the writings of Joseph Stalin among his hundred and fifty-odd source readings, almost all bourgeois, he would have found that Communism traces no opposition in principle between bourgeois democracy and fascism; that, on the contrary, it analyzes bourgeois democracy to be the matrix in which fascism is engendered; that fascism is nothing but the fascization of bourgeois democracy.

The fetishism of democracy as an ideal-in-itself blinds the workers to the realization of the developing stages of fascism, since it conceals from their eyes the bourgeois sword hidden under the mantle of "democracy". It thus leads, in the policy of social-democracy, to collaboration with the bourgeoisie in its very preparation of fascist rule. Fascism does not come about because of the defeat of bourgeois democracy; it comes about because bourgeois democracy has not been defeated by the only force that can defeat it, the proletariat. As Clara Zetkin declared: "Fascism is the punishment of the proletariat for failing to carry on the revolution begun in Russia."

The achievement of new forms and fulfillments that Mr. Corey assigns to Communism can come about through the destruction, and not through the nurturing, of bourgeois democracy. The new form to be fulfilled is the proletarian form of proletarian rule, *the form of the new type* which the State of the new type, the dictatorship of the proletariat, requires—the Soviet form: Soviet Power.

Soviet Power is the Leninist development and concretization of the Marxian theory of the State. It represents the second, consummate stage in the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat of which the Paris Commune, that had not yet learned the imperativeness of utterly shattering the bourgeois State, was the first. It is the new State apparatus rendered necessary for the dictatorship of a class that, for the first time in history, exercises its power, not to exploit and oppress the toiling masses of city and country, but to lead them, in a revolutionary class alliance, through a qualitatively

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heightened form of class struggle, to the fulfillment of the tasks of the revolution. Soviet Power, representing the armed force of the toiling people as a whole, closely and firmly connected with the masses as no State before it has been, is the instrument indispensable to the revolution in the task of crushing the counter-revolutionary resistance of the forces of the old order in their efforts to restore themselves to power, and of meeting the interventionist designs of world imperialism. Constituting the most inclusive, direct organizations of all the toilers; facilitating through its basic organizational structures the widest participation of the masses in the work of the proletarian State; stimulating the revolutionary initiative and the fullest creative energy of the masses through fostering in them the Socialist consciousness; Soviet Power guarantees the fullest, most possible, democracy to the toiling population.

Soviet Power is today the central slogan of the Communist Parties of the world. It is the slogan corresponding to the elemental urge of the masses in every colossal struggle as it approaches the proportions of revolution. Soviet Power, first established in Russia by the October Revolution, has since manifested its international nature in land after land whether as achievement or as aspiration. Soviet Power is the form of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry in China. Soviet Republics were established by the proletarian revolutions in Hungary and Bavaria. Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets were set up by the proletarian revolution in Germany in 1918. Soviets rose spontaneously in the course of the revolutionary struggles in Cuban districts. Despite the still relatively lesser organizational strength of the Communists as against that of the social-democrats and the syndicalists, Soviets held sway in the North of Spain in the recent rising. Soviet Power—the way of Bolshevism—has now become the practical, living slogan of the proletariat in the entire world in the present fast-maturing revolutionary crisis. Only Soviet Power can be the power of the proletariat. Only through the Soviet form can dictatorship be the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Herein lies the crux of the entire issue—why Mr. Corey's revolution is no proletarian revolution, why his power is no proletarian power, why his dictatorship is no dictatorship of the proletariat: *He has left out of his program the objective—Soviet Power!*

As his way out is not the way out of the working class, as his "new order" is not the new order of the proletariat, so Mr. Corey's party is not the Party of Bolshevism. We have shown above that the party he has in mind is not the single class vanguard Party of Marxism-Leninism. Notwithstanding the fact that he professes to select Communism rather than social-democracy as the leadership of

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the working class, his Communism is not the Communism of the Communist Party and of the Communist International.

In discussing the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, he speaks of the necessity of Communist leadership. He declares:

> "That is the task of the communist party and its Marxist program, disciplined organization, and awareness of purposes and means, unifying all phases of the proletarian struggle." (p. 567.)

Upon reading this statement, we are struck by what may seem at first glance to be a typographical error but which, as will be seen, affords a clear insight into Mr. Corey's position. We have reference to the lower-case spelling of *Communist Party*.

Inference deepens into conviction in the light of the following fact: In the Autumn 1932 issue of *The Modern Quarterly*, Mr. Corey has an article entitled "The American Revolution", which is substantially the text of the chapter by the same name in *The Decline of American Capitalism* and contains the cited passage. We reproduce here the text of that passage as it appeared in *The Modern Quarterly* (p. 24) for comparison with its reproduction in Mr. Corey's book. The former version reads:

> "That is the task of the Communist Party and its Marxist program, disciplined organization and ideology, unifying all phases of the proletarian struggle."

We note that here the Communist Party was treated as an entity having specific existence and that it was this specific Party which was given at that time the task of "unifying all phases of the proletarian struggle".

Can it be that the whole matter is chargeable to the printer's devil, or perhaps, in these days of modernism, to orthographic reform? How then shall we explain the following modification—again to be noted in comparing two identical passages, one in the magazine referred to, the other in the book?

In *The Modern Quarterly* for Summer, 1932, Mr. Corey concluded his article entitled "Monopolistic Capitalism and Imperialism" with the following statement:

> "The forms of the revolutionary struggle vary, from colonial liberation movements to the direct proletarian struggle for the conquest of the state and intermediate forms determined by the economic setup and the balance of class power; but all forms of the revolutionary struggle are unified by the strategy and tactics of the *Communist International* [italics ours] into *one* struggle for the annihilation of capitalism and imperialism." (p. 90.)

The same passage reproduced as the concluding sentence of the chapter entitled "Prosperity and Capitalist Decline" in *The Decline of American Capitalism* reads:

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> "The immediate forms of the struggle vary in time and place, from colonial liberation movements to the direct proletarian struggle for power and intermediate forms determined by the stage of the crisis and the balance of class power; but all forms of the struggle are unified by *international communism* [italics ours] into *one* offensive for the annihilation of capitalism and imperialism, and for socialism, the only alternative to economic and cultural decline and decay." (p. 488.)

No longer mere orthographic reform. We have here a reform, not of the letter, but of the spirit of the thing—a reform that amounts to a change of heart.

What has occured since 1932 to engender in Mr. Corey a pluralistic concept of the Communist Party and to cause him to dismiss the Communist International as unifier, by its strategy and tactics, of all forms of the revolutionary struggle?

Can we altogether disregard the striking coincidence of this newly-acquired disposition to pluralize and liquidate, and the decision, reached since those magazine articles were written, of a certain grouping of renegades to give up its hollow claim to being a "faction of Communism" and to regroup itself into a "Fourth International"? We have pointed out in the course of this discussion* that on a number of fundamental issues, Mr. Corey's theories savor of Trotzkyism. It is significant that since the autumn of 1932 he has renounced the program of "unifying the struggle of the Negro in its racial, *national* and class aspects"** (our italics) for "unifying the struggle of the Negro in its racial and class aspects"***—the position of Trotzkyism (and of Menshevism generally) which denies the national liberation character of the struggle of the Negro people, thus, on the one hand, hushing up the special form of national oppression to which the Negroes are subjected, and, on the other, robbing the American working class of a natural, historical revolutionary ally.

The "communist party" in small letters is obviously a generality designed for the convenience of all claimants to that term, and, by the same token, to give "scope" to the writer's allegiance. In like manner, "international communism" is so much "broader" than the "official" "Stalinist" Communist International. You may, if you desire, "broaden" the thing out to include even the Two-and-a-Half International, should it be re-formed (someone did say at the dismal Second International Congress that it "may have been buried too soon"); and, by the most recent Trotzkyist portents in France, why not also the Second?

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* *The Communist*, October, 1934.
** *The Modern Quarterly*, Autumn, 1932, p. 28.
*** *The Decline of American Capitalism*, p. 573.

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This conclusion is the inevitable outcome of Mr. Corey's failure to base himself fully on the Leninist teachings on imperialism and theory of revolution. This initial failure accounts for his inability to recognize clearly both the hegemonic role of the proletariat and the place of the Communist Party as the vanguard Party of the working class. It accounts for his oblivion to the historic organizational split and for his considering traditional social-democracy as a party leading the working class through "moderate" ways to Socialism instead of seeing in reformist-socialism the main social pillar of the bourgeoisie. It accounts, hence, for his endeavors to combine with—that is, substitute for—the revolutionary program of Bolshevism, the Menshevik program of "democratic", peaceful "growth into socialism", which means, as recent history has all too clearly shown, growth into fascism. It accounts for his failure to grasp the dialectic connection between the struggles for immediate gains and the Socialist goal, hence for his underestimation of these struggles and the basis they supply for the solidification of the working class through the United Front, for its historic task of revolutionary overthrow.

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The Present Situation, Perspectives, and Tasks in Cuba

RESOLUTION OF THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA

(*Continued from the September issue*)

PART II

10. At present, a rapid alignment of forces is taking place in the country. Great mass movements develop, grow, and constantly acquire the character of a struggle against the entire present regime. The proletariat is leading the development of the bourgeois-democratic (agrarian anti-imperialist) revolution. The Party is winning to its side the majority of the working class, and the economic and political situation in the country is drawing the impoverished sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry more and more to the side of the revolutionary proletariat.

The political groups which constitute the government, the Nationalists, and the ABC,* are rapidly unmasking themselves through their servile policy to imperialism and the native ruling class, through their terrorist methods against the masses, and through their protection of the most detested Machadista elements.

A whole swarm of bourgeois-landlord groups appear on the scene, trying to canalize the discontent of the masses: the National Revolutionary Party, the Cuban Revolutionary Party (Autenticos), the Revolutionaries of Cuba, the Labor Party, the National Historical, etc.

Of all the groups and parties in Cuba, the most dangerous for the revolution are the parties of the "Left", chiefly the Cuban Revolutionary Party of Grau. *The principal danger for the revolutionary movement in the present situation are these groups of the "Left", which, not being systematically and energetically unmasked, nor isolated from the masses, so that their influence may be broken, can canalize the mass discontent and use it for their own purposes, or, what is the same thing, divert the masses from the road of revolution in order to safeguard the bourgeois-landlord-imperialist domination.*

* The fascist party composed of the most reactionary strata of the Cuban bourgeois-landlords.

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In the fundamental struggle of the Party at the present time to isolate the bourgeois-landlord parties from the masses and win over to the revolution the majority of the working class and working masses, the struggle against the agents of these parties in the ranks of the working class is of the utmost importance; that is, the struggle against the reformist, anarchist, and Trotskyite leaders, whose role it is to help the ruling classes from within the ranks of the proletariat. It is necessary systematically to unmask them, by exposing their betrayals and maneuvers, by counteracting their demagogy, and destroying their influence among the workers. The tactic of the united front, correctly applied, can be one of the means of carrying out this most important task.

The influence of the "Left" groups of the bourgeoisie and landlords among the masses and the backwardness of the peasant movement are the fundamental dangers which must be overcome on the road to revolution.

11. The analysis made of the situation—the development and perspectives of the economic crisis, the unmasking of the government through its terrorist methods against the masses, the upward swing of the revolutionary movement—fully confirm the estimate and perspectives of the situation given at the First National Conference: that we have entered a stage of preparation (political and organizational) of the workers and peasants for decisive struggle for power.

The perspective of the rapid maturing of the pre-requisites of a revolutionary crisis is not only not to be denied, but is to be regarded as even more correct and accentuated today, and the central task of the political and organizational preparation of the workers and peasants for decisive struggle for power is now placed before the Party with more emphasis than ever before. For the Soviet Power of Workers, Peasants, Soldiers and Sailors! This is the slogan which can serve as the daily guide for all our work of propaganda, and organization of the masses.

The growing alignment of forces, in the sense of a greater differentiation of classes, defining more sharply all the time the camps between the ruling classes and the proletariat and peasantry, makes it necessary for the Party to maneuver against imperialism, before as well as after taking power, in order to postpone and lessen the danger of intervention. This places as an immediate task the taking over and division of the imperialist plantations and the establishment of worker control in these enterprises. This change of situation requires a greater popularization of the slogans of nationalization.

The Congress endorses the tasks pointed out by the First National Conference of the Party and calls upon the entire Party

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for their fulfillment, while at the same time it points out the fundamental and necessary tasks which grow from the present situation.

1. In the struggle to isolate the bourgeois-landlord groups and their reformist, anarchist, and Trotskyite agents, so that it may win the majority of the working class and raise the struggles for immediate demands to the level of decisive struggles for power, the Party must raise demands of a transitional character, such as worker-control, definite acts of expropriation for the unemployed (food, clothing, the houses of the rich), the direct struggle for taking over the land, arming of the workers and peasants, and so on. In the present situation, worker-control fills a profound need of the masses, who are faced with a policy of dismissals, wage cuts and lockouts by the exploiting classes. At the same time, these transitional demands, applied in the present situation, mean the initiation of the confiscation of the large enterprises, the land and the buildings. These transitional demands serve as a necessary bridge for making the step from present day-to-day struggles to decisive struggles for power, to the complete carrying out of the program of the agrarian anti-imperialist revolution.

2. The perspective outlined and the entire development of events, as well as the development of struggles for demands of a transitional character, raise before the Party the task of the development of struggles which by their high political level and character lead directly to the problem of taking power. The Party must have the perspective of establishing Soviet power on a local scale in exact proportion to the maturing of the revolutionary situation. The Party must face this task with great decision and energy, and, in cases where local Soviet power is organized, must take measures that are simple, of a content so clear and eloquent to the masses, that they will rally compactly around them, creating the basis for the maintenance and defense of Soviet Power. Such measures can be, in a general way, the following: (a) to transfer the workers to better houses; to confiscate and distribute the food in the large warehouses among the unemployed, who shall be lodged in the houses of the rich; to put in practice the eight-hour day, and the seven-hour day for young workers; and to increase salaries, forcing the managements to pay them; and to take the severest measures against all who practice discrimination against Negroes; (b) to take, through committees of peasants, the lands of the latifundistas and the plantations for distribution among the peasants, agricultural workers, and soldiers; and to annul the debts of the peasantry; (c) to lower greatly the taxes on the petty bourgeoisie; to punish mercilessly all speculators and to fix prices, guaranteeing the largest possible production and consumption; (d) to give and guarantee to the broad-

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est masses the exercise of democratic rights—the right to strike and demonstrate, freedom of press, assembly, etc.

These tasks must be accompanied by measures which guarantee the existence of Soviet power in the locality, that is, arming all the toiling population, while disarming all the reactionary elements and restricting their liberties, and trying rapidly to extend Soviet power to the surrounding regions.

3. It is necessary to let loose a systematic and implacable struggle against all the measures of the counter-revolutionary concentration government, particularly against the white terror. In this field, the Party must prepare and organize mass political strikes as one of the highest forms of the workers' struggle and as the means of mobilizing and drawing the toiling masses into the revolutionary movement. We must apply this tactic on the basis of slogans clearly felt by the masses, trying to turn into political strikes the mass movements of economic struggle which prepare the ground.

4. We must advance a simple program which will convince the masses of the possibility of maintaining a Soviet government in Cuba. We must take advantage of the example of Soviet China, whose Red Army has driven back the sixth offensive of the Kuomintang. We must popularize the achievements of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union. As for the remedies proposed by Saenz and Company, we must show the masses that the evils of the bourgeois-landlord-imperialist regime are incurable; that the future of the masses under the present system is one of hunger and death.

We must explain convincingly to the masses that there is no other way out except the agrarian anti-imperialist revolution, that is, the overthrow of the power of the exploiters, the complete independence of Cuba, the abrogation of the Platt Amendment,* of

* Since the adoption of this resolution the Platt Amendment has been nominally abrogated. This step on the part of the Roosevelt administration is but part and parcel of its entire policy of demagogy whereby it seeks to cover up its increasing measures of exploitation and oppression of the "home" working class and the masses in its spheres of influence. This is factually admitted in an editorial of the New York *Times* of May 31, 1934:

> "It remains true that, with or without a treaty, the American Government may lawfully intervene to protect its own nationals or their property. . . . Moreover, the retention of the naval base at Guantanamo is a clear indication that Cuba is embraced within the plans of the United States for national defense. Guantanamo has its relations to the Panama Canal and also to the Monroe Doctrine. . . . All this must be clear to intelligent Cubans. Their rejoicing over the abolition of the Platt Amendment is largely sentimental."

The "abrogation" of the Platt Amendment was substituted by a new

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the Treaty of Reciprocity and of all other treaties which limit national sovereignty; the immediate withdrawal of armed Yankee forces from Cuban waters and from the Guantanamo naval base; the confiscation and nationalization of all the means of economic power in the hands of foreign capitalists (railroads, mines, mills, banks, etc.); the confiscation and nationalization of the lands of the latifundistas and their delivery without cost to the peasants, agricultural workers and soldiers; the establishment of the eight-hour day, and the seven-hour day for young workers; the cancellation of the foreign debt; a considerable decrease in the taxes on the petty bourgeoisie and peasantry; the establishment of a government based on Soviets (councils) of delegates of workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors; the arming of the broad masses and the formation of a Red Army of Workers and Peasants.

We must convince the masses that a Soviet government could hold power in Cuba. In the first place it will count on the support of the workers and peasants who form the overwhelming majority of the Cuban population, and on the support of other sections of the population now exploited by imperialism. The Soviet government will count on the support of the workers and peasants on the American continent, including those of the United States, and on those of the Soviet Union and of the entire world.

The antagonism between the different imperialisms and Yankee imperialism (Japan against the U.S., England against the U.S., etc.) favors the establishment of a Soviet government in Cuba, and makes armed intervention difficult. The development of the revolutionary movement in other countries of South America and the Caribbean (Mexico, Colombia, Puerto Rico) which will be accelerated by the triumph of the revolution in Cuba, will also serve as a serious obstacle to intervention. We must show the masses that the revolution in Cuba is not an isolated event, but constitutes part of the world revolution and develops in conditions marked by the growth of the world revolutionary crisis. On the other hand, with the aim of avoiding intervention, the Soviet government will declare itself ready to enter into negotiations with Washington for the granting of concessioners' rights to certain industries—*always on the basis of nationalization* — on the understanding that they abide by Soviet laws.

The Soviet government will recognize and enter into negotiations with the U.S.S.R., exchanging sugar for wheat, oil, machines

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treaty which differs from the former only in the formal omission of the right to intervene—an omission which by the "ethics" of imperialism will not succeed in tying the hands of American interventionist policy.

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and other products. The Soviet power will organize the economic basis of Cuba, stimulating the production of products that will assure the feeding of the population in spite of a possible economic blockade from the outside (rice, potatoes, beans, textiles and other indispensable products). It will develop new industrial products of the country, such as alcohol as a motor fuel, etc., and will reconstruct the entire economy of the country on the basis of modern technique.

5. Parallel to these tasks, the Party must point out to the masses the growing danger of intervention, which has not disappeared in spite of the recognition of the Mendieta government by Washington. The Party must call upon the masses daily to develop the struggle against intervention and prepare them to drive it back in the event that it takes place.

We must demonstrate in front of the consulates and imperialist companies, demanding the withdrawal of Yankee warships from Cuban waters, withdrawal of military forces from Guantanamo, and immediate abolition of the Platt Amendment. These demonstrations must be combined with other struggles, protests and mass mobilizations against the danger of intervention. In order to carry through successfully the campaign against intervention, we must mercilessly and systematically unmask both the idea which tends to lull the masses with the Roosevelt declaration that "there will be no intervention", and at the same time we must expose the "theories" which hold up intervention as an insurmountable obstacle on the road to revolution and which prefer a better "Cuban government" to intervention.

6. Together with the struggle against intervention and all the tasks of the Party, the Congress points out the necessity of intensifying the struggle against imperialist war and fascism, and in defense of the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese Soviets, and of developing actions of international solidarity. These have been very weak until now. The achievements of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. must be popularized. We must systematically reveal to the masses the maneuvers in preparation for war and explain the revolutionary way out of war—its transformation into revolution in our own country. We must develop mass actions against war, especially against the war in the Chaco Boreal. At the same time, we must intensify our work of educating the masses along internationalist lines, opposing this to the chauvinist and patriotic propaganda of the groups and parties of the bourgeois-landlords.

7. The Party must actively draw into the approaching workers' and peasants' revolution one of its fundamental forces—the peasantry. The greatest danger confronting the revolutionary movement

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in our country is the gap between the high level of the struggle of the proletariat, and the peasant movement, which is extremely backward. To develop the agrarian anti-imperialist revolution means, above all, to develop the agrarian revolution. The underestimation of the role of the peasantry and of work among the peasants, which undoubtedly exists in our Party, means abandoning completely the revolutionary perspective, not believing in the revolution, deviating from the line of the Party and making concessions to the Trotskyites.

To break with this underestimation—pointed out at the First National Conference, but, nevertheless, not corrected—means, in the present situation, to develop the direct struggle for the taking over and distribution of the lands of the large native landlords and the imperialist companies, and the organization of armed defense of these lands. For the accomplishment of this task the chief organizational problem is the creation throughout the country of peasant committees. The Party's best agitators and organizers must be sent to the main agrarian regions for this purpose.

The struggle for seizing the land does not mean abandoning the struggle for other basic demands of the peasants (farmers, tobacco-field stewards, stock farmers). We must, by developing these struggles—*i.e.*, for the non-payment of rent, cancellation of mortgages, increase of the share of the working peasantry in the share-cropping system, etc.—unify them around this central demand of the peasant masses, the conquest of the land.

8. The Party must prepare to participate in the elections to the Constituent Assembly, linking our propaganda on this point to the daily actions of the masses, and clarifying the revolutionary class meaning of our participation in the Assembly. The C.C. must prepare the Party to participate in the Assembly.

9. In addition to these very urgent tasks which grow from the whole present situation, the Party continues to be faced, more sharply than ever, with certain fundamental strategic tasks. In the first place, it is faced with the necessity of winning the majority of the working class. For this, in addition to the other tasks pointed out, we must energetically undertake the following.

a. For winning the masses, the fundamental danger lies in the influence of bourgeois-landlord parties of the "Left" and their reformist, anarchist, and Trotskyite agents. The politicalization of strikes, and their elevation to higher planes, the setting of international demands, play a central part in the task of isolating these elements from the masses. But it is also necessary to lay down as specific tasks the unmasking of these elements, and their campaign of dema-

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gogy, by exposing the role of the "Autenticos" and Guiteras* after coming to power, and their policy in favor of the bourgeois-landlord-imperialist domination. It is necessary to carry on agitation against them through concrete acts, without weakening the intense struggle against the A.B.C., the Nationalists, the Menocalists,** etc.

United front tactics with the rank and file that follow these parties and with the workers led by reformists, anarchists, and Trotskyites, on the basis of concrete programs of demands and of common actions for these demands, must play a very important role.

Faced with these perspectives, the Communists must raise their work in the unions to a new level. The unions must be transformed into powerful weapons of struggle for workers' and peasants' power. The unions are transmission belts between the Party and the working masses, and through them we must do our main work in winning the majority of the proletariat. The Communists in the unions must not only take up the question of struggle for immediate demands; they must also raise the slogans and bring forward the campaigns of the Party and convert the unions into instruments of political education for the masses. This task of winning the workers of the unions for the struggle for power, as we have won them for the struggle for wage increases, the eight-hour day, etc., must in no way be interpreted mechanically. This means that the struggle for the present economic and political demands of the masses must be linked in such a manner with the problem of taking power that it will come as the natural consequence of the struggles.

For this, it is necessary to pay much greater attention than before to the problems of organizational and political consolidation in the unions (trade union press, courses, mass trade union work, etc.) and to the ideological struggle against the reformists, anarchists, and Trotskyites. The program of the Party must be brought up for discussion among the masses in the unions and factories.

The problem of political consolidation in the unions is above all the *problem of building strong Communist fractions within the unions* and trade union sections [in the factories], the problem of giving the factory cells a good political life.

The Congress cells emphatic attention to the great lagging in this field and demands a complete change in this situation in the shortest possible time.

b. The task of achieving in our mass work a real concentration

* Guiteras is the Left-wing leader of the "Autenticos" (Cuban Revolutionary Party).

** The Nationalists and Menocalists are two small bourgeois-landlord political groups, remnants of the old Liberal and Conservative Parties respectively.

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in the fundamental sections and in those where our position is weakest, now takes on the greatest importance. Regarding this, it is necessary to point out that the Party cannot fulfill its immediate historic task without winning those sections which are of decisive importance both as proletarian nuclei and as pivotal points in the disruption of the apparatus of domination of the exploiting classes. Aside from the sugar and tobacco plantations where our position is strongest—although here too it is necessary to consolidate our work—we must concentrate in the railroads, the ports, and in the gas, electric, telegraph and telephone works, etc. To centralize nationally the forces we have among the railroad workers is now a main task in this section. We must also consolidate this influence organizationally, developing a strong revolutionary trade union opposition which, winning the majority, will lead to the building of a revolutionary railroad union. It is necessary to push the publication of *Via Libre* as a regularly appearing revolutionary trade union organ of the railroad workers and continue the organizational work begun.

Among the port workers, where our position in certain places is stronger—although lately, through mistakes we have made, the reformists have been able to gain ground in the port of Havana—the principal task of the Party is to overcome the influence of the reformists and to consolidate organizationally the influence we have at present. The same tasks apply in the other decisive sections of the working class.

Finally, we must point out that we have lagged in our work among the foreign-born, and that we must promptly and seriously begin to work among them. We must make a special effort to draw them into the revolutionary trade unions and the Party, by putting out propaganda written in their respective languages and by developing their struggles. This is of particular importance in respect to the Haitian, Jamaican, and Chinese workers.

c. The development of the struggles and organization of the unemployed must be taken as a task of prime importance by the Party. This is a task the Party has set itself many times, but which it has not taken up seriously and has almost completely abandoned. It is necessary to put an end to this situation—especially now with the termination of the zafra*—and unleash a gigantic wave of struggles of the unemployed for their basic demands. Taking as a central point the demands for immediate relief and unemployment insurance at the expense of the bosses and the government, we must immediately develop direct actions of the unemployed, leading them

* Sugar crop (Ed.).

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to occupy vacant houses and the commercial departments in the mills and large warehouses, distributing the food and clothing, taking the cattle of the companies and large landlords and dividing the meat, etc. Together with the development of struggles, we must proceed to the organization of a great network of committees and councils of the unemployed throughout the country. The unions have a particular responsibility in carrying through these tasks and must engage in strikes, demonstrations, and protests, in support of the unemployed, as well as enlisting the support of the unemployed workers for the struggles of the employed.

10. We must strengthen the work in the army and navy and other armed forces (police), with the central objective of winning them over for the revolution. The Party must seriously begin to penetrate the mass of the soldiers and sailors and to develop struggles for their demands in the barracks and ships. At the same time, we must unmask the betrayal of their struggles by Batista and the new officers, and popularize the instances of fraternization. This penetration and development of struggles, like all our agitation and propaganda, must result in the briefest possible time in the actual organization of Committees of Soldiers and Sailors in the barracks and ships which will develop their struggles and be strong supports for the workers' and peasants' revolution. The regular publication of *Centinela* must be assured, the Party obtaining for it the economic support of the workers and distributing it widely among the soldiers and sailors. This must be made a task of the greatest importance for each organization and each member of the Party.

11. The drawing of the Negro masses into the general struggle of the proletariat and the toiling masses, and above all the development of the struggle for economic, political and social equality for Negroes, against all discrimination and for their right to self-determination in the black belt of Oriente, are essential tasks which have been greatly neglected by the Party. We must put in its proper place the struggle for self-determination which is not, at present, the central question. The central question is the daily and systematic struggle against discrimination and particular forms of oppression of the Negroes, leading toward their full equality. We must develop concrete struggles for the right of Negroes to occupy any job in the factories, offices and commercial firms, for the right to be members of the clinic associations, to be admitted to all hotels, theatres, cinemas, parks, and we must link this up in all cases with the slogan of self-determination in the Negro territory of Oriente. At the same time, we must carry on the most implacable struggle against all manifestations of white chauvinism in the Party, taking the most severe measures against any evidences of it.

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12. Regarding organization of the masses, the Party must display the greatest energy, not only in the formation of Factory Committees and Committees of Peasants, but also in building joint Committees of Action as a form of organization of the masses and as an instrument of centralizing the struggles and raising them to a higher plane. At the same time, in the period of higher struggles, the joint Committees of Action must constitute the basis for the building of Soviets.

13. We must pay a great deal of attention to the work of the mass organizations, especially the International Labor Defense, the Anti-Imperialist League, the Student Left Wing (Ala Izquierda), the Committee for the Rights of Negroes, and the Workers International Relief.

This work, (ecially in the I.L.D., which had developed greatly, has been extrem ,y weak in recent months. We must strengthen it greatly, so that it may lead the masses in struggle against the white terror and for the democratic rights of the population. We must extend it organizationally and consolidate it where it now exists, giving the groups a daily quota of work and strengthening their leadership. With regard to the Anti-Imperialist League, we have the same general tasks. Now more than ever, it is of the greatest importance in winning the petty bourgeoisie. The Student Left Wing must be transformed into a mass organization of students, raising its slogans, developing its struggles and breaking with its present sectarian tendencies.

The organization of the Workers International Relief, which was started a short time ago, must be seriously taken up by the Party and the unions. The Committee for Negro Rights has been given very little attention. This weakness must be corrected and the Committee converted into an organ of struggle and mobilization of the masses; strong Communist factions must be built within it.

14. Strictest attention to the Y.C.L., to youth trade union work, and to other work among the working youth, must occupy an extremely important place among the tasks of the Party. Much greater help than before must be given to the work among the youth. The Y.C.L. is the principal auxiliary of the Party and it must be converted into a real mass organization. The relations of the Party with the Y.C.L. must be improved, and all tendencies to underestimate youth work, as well as the failure to give help to the young comrades, must be ended definitely. On the part of the Y.C.L., moreover, steps must be taken to end the vanguardist tendencies, which, although liquidated to a large extent, still exist.

15. The working women have fought shoulder to shoulder in the great class battles, revealing their revolutionary strength. The

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Party is faced with the task of special work among the women. In addition to the general demands, it must organize the struggle for their specific demands, such as paid vacations eight weeks before and eight weeks after childbirth, and equal salary for equal work. The promotion of women to leading positions in the unions and Party organizations is closely linked to this task. The small number of women we have in the Party necessitates special recruiting among them. These tasks take on special importance at the present time when all the bourgeois-landlord groups are mobilizing their forces to exert influence over the women in the election campaign.

16. The Party, the unions, and the revolutionary organizations in general must display the most intense activity in developing the initiative of the masses for carrying through the arming of the proletariat and for the building of self defense corps and armed detachments as mass organizations, embryos of workers' and peasants' militias. The work of winning the Army is also a fundamental part of the struggle for arming the proletariat.

17. Serious work must be undertaken to consolidate organizationally the influence we have won through the daily struggles and campaigns of the Party. In each particular case, we must draw up organizational plans which can be fulfilled in the course of the struggles to consolidate the influence of the Party. This is closely linked with the immense work of systematic recruiting of members in the factories, plantations and barracks; and of organizing strong cells in each place of work and large fractions in the mass organizations.

For developing leading cadres, aside from the distribution of literature and documents, the Congress sets itself the task of rapidly creating Party district schools.

18. An absolutely central task of the Party is the establishment of a mass daily paper, not only as a powerful instrument of agitation and propaganda, but as an organizer of the revolution itself and an educator of capable cadres for the Party.

19. The Party will not be able to face these great tasks and fulfill its mission as leader and organizer of the revolution if it does not undertake serious work for its Bolshevization, for its conversion into a mass Communist Party, endowed with an iron discipline and with a strong sense of responsibility on the part of each active member.

It is necessary to liquidate immediately the main danger of the Right opportunist tendencies expressed in the lack of faith in the revolution, in the belief that the struggle for power is remote. These tendencies reveal themselves in defeatism, in a lack of responsibility and in opportunist passivity.

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We must liquidate, through an implacable struggle and severe organizational measures to the point of expulsion, this lack of discipline and passivity. We must combat all defeatism and irresponsibility.

At the same time, we must combat the "Leftist" tendencies of setting a fixed time to the revolution, of loose talk on taking power while we are isolated from the daily struggles, of playing down the role of economic struggles and the daily work of organization, of putschism, etc. These tendencies, like those of the Right, condemn the Party to passivity and also serve as a source of defeatism.

It is necessary to liquidate through a merciless struggle all the alien class influences in the Party. We must likewise establish iron discipline, apply the most severe organizational measures against those who do not fulfill the resolutions of the Party, against the passive, defeatist elements, etc.

Only with Communist strategy and a correct tactic, forged in the fire of struggle, with a Bolshevik line and an iron discipline, will the Party be able victoriously to lead the working class, peasants, and toiling masses along the road of the agrarian anti-imperialist revolution, and assure its transformation into a socialist revolution.

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Figures on the American Economic Crisis

AS OF SEPTEMBER, 1934

By JOHN IRVING AND PHIL MAYER
(Labor Research Association)

LABOR DAY is traditionally the turning point of business in the United States. In the popular mind as well as among commentators on business trends, Labor Day is supposed to mark the end of the Summer "dullness" as well as the beginning of the "Autumn upturn". This Fall, not only did September fail to record the end of the Summer "dullness", but it also disclosed tendencies which point less hopefully to the usual Fall upturn in business activity.

There is the fact that production in September was lower even than in August, recording the unusually sharp decrease of five points between these two months in the *Annalist* Index of Business Activity, from 71 to 66. The normal experience is for September to show an increase over August in the country's business activity.

And this unusual fall in the index was only partly due to the textile strike which was raging throughout most of the month, although that fact considerably accentuated it. In statistical terms, the fall in the textile index accounted for only 2 of the 5 point fall recorded for the composite index. Automobile production suf-

TABLE 1—PRODUCTION[1]

	1934			September			
THE FIELD	Sept.	Aug.	July	1933	1932	1931	1929
General Index	66[2]	71	73	76	65	76	115
Steel ingot production	34	34	41	62	27	44	139
Pig iron production	31	35	41	55	18	43	131
Cotton consumption	59	82	78	98	83	92	111
Automobile production	53	62	71	60	25	40	123
Lumber production	—	56	45	57	36	53	140
Cement production	—	44	50	34	46	70	120

1. The *Annalist Index of Business Activity*. "Normal," that is, the computed long-time trend, with the seasonal variations eliminated, equals 100 per cent. The indexes given here should be thought of as percentages of this "normal".
2. Preliminary.

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fered nearly as large a decline, and other components, not all shown in the detail of our Table 1, suffered similarly.

By the end of September all the gains in the production index, which began its upward trend last December, had been lost. The September index is lower than for any month since April, 1933, immediately after the bank "holiday". It compares with the index of 76.4 for September a year ago, with 80.2 of last May, the high point reached by the second "recovery" wave generated by the N.R.A., and with 89.3 for July, 1933, when the first of the Roosevelt "prosperity" drives reached its peak.

This, in a word, is the record of the immediate past, and may be taken as possibly foreshadowing events to come. The Fall "season", in any event, is short-lived. December is usually a "slow" month, and so are January and February.

But even greater significance is to be ascribed to the employment and payroll figures for September, which were released by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, October 19. According to these figures, the employment index for September stood at 75.8, against 79.5 for August, while the payrolls indices were 57.9 and

TABLE 2—EMPLOYMENT[1]

	1934		September			
THE FIELD	Sept.	Aug.	1933	1932	1931	1929
A. *Mfg. Ind.* (1923-25 = 100)						
Gen. Index (90 Ind.)	76[2]	79	80	63	77	109
Iron and steel	66	69	72	47	62	106
Elec. mach., appar. and supplies	66	65	58	49	76	137
Foundry and mach. shop products	67	69	62	46	64	113
Automobiles	81	92	72	50	70	110
Steam railroad repair shops	55	54	54	49	60	82
Cotton goods	52	89	100	71	74	95
Knit goods	101	103	112	96	97	116
Silk and rayon goods	58	74	88	74	83	104
Woolen and worsted goods	36[2]	68	94	69	73	84
Men's clothing	89	88	90	78	91	107
Women's clothing	121	110	117	111	137	146
Boots and shoes	85	92	90	85	91	104
Slaught. and meat packing	121	112	102	80	81	96
B. *Non-Mfg. Ind.* (1929=100)						
Anthracite mining	57	50	57	56	80	102
Bituminous mining	78	77	72	62	80	97
Telephone and telegraph	71	71	68	77	85	103
Power and light	86	86	80	81	95	106
Retail trade	88	82	86	78	87	98
Steam railroads (1923-25=100)	—	—	58	56	69	97

1. Compiled by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, except steam railroads (non-mfg.), which is compiled by the Interstate Commerce Commission.
2. Preliminary.

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62.1, respectively. Again, the textile strike weighed heavily in these figures, so that the employment index in the non-durable goods industries, which include textiles, dropped 6.1 per cent, as against a drop of 2.9 per cent in the durable goods industries. But payrolls in the durable goods industries decreased 8.8 per cent, while in the non-durable industries they declined 4.9 per cent.

It is this greater decline in the payrolls index of the durable goods industries, both as compared with the payrolls index of non-durable goods industries as well as with its corresponding employment index, that is most revealing. Again the vicious stagger system of employment in the basic industries is becoming wide-spread. Yet it is in the increase in the flow of purchasing power from production of the means of production that capitalism can find a powerful means of stimulating the consumption goods industries. The dialectics of the present production relations, therefore, point to a resharpening of the internal contradictions of American capitalism and to an intensification of capitalist efforts to solve the crisis in the capitalist way.

TABLE 3—PAYROLLS[1]

	— 1934 —		September			
THE FIELD	Sept.	Aug.	1933	1932	1931	1929
A. *Mfg. Indust.* (1923-25=100)						
Gen. Index (90 Ind.)	58[3]	62	59	43	63	113
Iron and steel	41	45	48	20	40	113
Elec. mach., appar. and supplies	48	50	40	29	59	145
Foundry and mach. shop products	47	50	41	26	47	117
Automobiles	54	77	53	23	44	109
Steam railroad repair shops	45	48	45	35	55	89
Cotton goods	40	63	80	47	59	87
Knit goods	91	89	101	78	90	134
Silk and rayon goods	41	60	66	50	71	105
Woolen and worsted goods	24[3]	48	70	48	58	81
Men's clothing	62	66	64	49	66	100
Women's clothing	85	85	99	76	117	149
Boots and shoes	68	79	77	64	74	109
Slaught. and meat packing	109	99	78	63	77	102
B. *Non-Mfg. Ind.* (1929=100)						
Anthracite mining	47	40	61	47	65	104
Bituminous mining	51	50	44	30	54	99
Telephone and telegraph	72	74	65	76	92	100
Power and light	79	80	72	75	94	107
Retail trade	71	67	69	65	84	99
Steam railroads[2]	—	—	124	119	171	248

1. See footnote, Table 2, Employment.
2. In million dollars.
3. Preliminary.

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The recent emanations from Washington are, therefore, no mere coincidences. Roosevelt's avowal of his aim to raise commodity prices to undefined higher levels had a two-fold purpose—to reverse the downward price trend of the several preceding weeks, as well as to feel out "public" sentiment with respect to the next step in inflation. The experiment succeeded momentarily. The upward price reaction was immediate, and the appointment of Edward R. Stettinius, vice chairman of the U. S. Steel Corp. and son of a late Morgan partner, as government advisor followed. Richberg's assurances of the gradual removal of *direct* government price control from the coded industries, as well as of *direct* production control all reveal the urgent need that new tactics, in still closer harmony with "business", be tried to prevent the Winter of 1934-35 from repeating the history of the winter of 1932-33.

What next immediate steps the government will take, will depend largely on how long prices can be kept up by mere talk, by mere feelers about inflation. Already the effects of the Roosevelt feeler are wearing off, and prices are again weakening as these lines

TABLE 4—PER CAPITA WEEKLY EARNINGS[1]

	1934		August		
THE FIELD	August	July	1933	1932	1931
A. *Mfg. Industries*					
Average (90 Ind.)	$18.89	$18.60	$18.83	$16.95	$22.10
Iron and steel	17.23	18.06	21.94	11.74	20.35
Elec. mach., appar. and supp.	21.06	21.05	20.79	16.98	26.64
Foundry & mach. shop prod.	20.16	20.35	18.74	15.44	21.43
Automobiles	23.06	20.06	23.72	18.15	23.91
Steam railroad rep. shops	24.48	24.44	24.47	21.09	26.36
Cotton goods	11.46	11.54	13.22	9.86	13.38
Knit goods	14.61	14.01	14.97	11.94	15.36
Silk and rayon goods	15.93	14.34	15.26	13.60	18.51
Woolen and worsted goods	15.97	16.02	17.52	15.88	20.85
Men's clothing	17.51	15.76	16.10	13.71	20.16
Women's clothing	19.46	17.48	15.68	18.48	22.16
Boots and shoes	18.14	18.44	17.42	15.16	19.27
Slaugh. and meat packing	22.34	22.46	19.78	20.56	25.19
B. *Non-Mfg. Industries*					
Anthracite mining	23.35	22.97	28.41	24.46	24.32
Bituminous mining	16.75	16.57	16.37	11.85	17.00
Telephone and telegraph	27.60	27.01	26.32	27.10	29.02
Power and light	29.64	29.64	28.26	29.48	31.29
Reatil trade	20.17	20.31	19.48	20.30	23.82
Steam railroads[2]	——	126	125	122	138

1. Compiled by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.
2. Per capita monthly earnings, computed from figures of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

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are written (October 20). That they have not gone lower is due essentially to the pegging of the prices of such commodities as cotton. Cotton cannot at present fall below 12 cents a pound because at that price the government will advance loans on as much of the staple as the farmer will offer. The fact that this type of "price stabilization" is undermining the world market for American cotton exports, and in the end must mean the ruin of the American cotton belt, is apparently of no immediate concern to the Washington politicians. The lessons of the Stevenson plan of pegging the price of British raw rubber, of the Federal Farm Board's effort to

TABLE 5—NUMBER AND EXTENT OF STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS[1]

THE FIELD	Number of Disputes	Number of Workers Involved	Number of Man-Days Lost
1934:			
July[2]	97	162,771	2,595,185
June[2]	128	44,044	2,095,070
May	182	155,714	2,221,390
April	174	132,596	2,280,164
Mach	134	87,497	1,091,023
February	73	69,834	789,553
July:			
1933	240	111,051	1,505,408
1932	66	20,890	740,785
1931	73	49,434	612,864
1930	78	14,308	141,647
1929	80	36,152	1,062,428

1. *Partial figures* compiled by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, as of the beginning of the month.
2. Preliminary.

TABLE 6—COMMODITY PRICES AND COST OF LIVING

	1934			September			
THE FIELD	Sept.	Aug.	July	1933	1932	1931	1929
A. *Wholesale Prices*							
Combined Index (784)[1]	—	76	75	71	65	72	96
B. *Retail Prices*							
Food[1]	73	69	68	66	62	74	100
Dept. store articles[2]	88	88	88	86	74	87	—
C. *Cost of Living*[3]	78	77	76	75	74	82	97
D. *Agricultural*[4]							
Farm prices	102	96	87	80	59	72	141
Prices paid by farmers	126	125	102	116	106	120	152

1. Wholesale prices (1926=100) and retail food prices (converted from 1913=100 to 1926=100) compiled by U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.
2. Fairchilds combined index (Dec. 1930=100).
3. National Industrial Conference Board's combined cost of living index (converted from 1923=100 to 1926=100).
4. U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics' indexes (Aug. 1909-July 1914=100).

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peg agricultural prices during the late Hoover days, have apparently been completely forgotten. The urban proletariat can pay the bill. The cost of living is going up. The number of families on relief is increasing. But the world's visible supply of staples—of cotton, of wheat, of rubber, etc.—is not much less this year than a year ago. Finance capital has locked the warehouses and hidden the keys. The government is standing guard over them.

Talk now is veering from "inflation" to "credit inflation". The proposals for a two-billion dollar works program *after* Congress meets in January aim at the same feeler effects. At the same time governmental deficits are rising by the hundreds of millions monthly, making new government borrowing imminent, which in turn becomes the basis for further credit inflation.

* * * * *

Since this was written the proposed $12,000,000,000 public works and housing program has been put out as a new "feeler". The significance of this proposal is two-fold. First, it is becoming evident that the Administration is in earnest about a program of "credit" inflation before it finally resorts to the printing press. It should be remembered that under the several emergency banking acts government bonds can be used as a basis for issuing Federal Reserve bank notes, dollar for dollar. Should this $12,000,000,000 program go through—and a good deal of this would go for more war preparations—the Federal Reserve, rather than the Federal Treasury, would be using the printing presses for multiplying, and thereby destroying the value of, the national currency.

In the second place this proposed program is a threat that the

TABLE 7—CONSUMPTION [1]

	1934			September			
THE FIELD	Sept.	Aug.	July	1933	1932	1931	1929
Dept. store sales[2]	—	64	59	70	61	81	100
Dept. store stocks[2]	76	79	72	70	70	84	114
Chain store sales[3]	—	—	—	85	83	—	—
Variety store sales[4]	90[5]	90	90	86	82	92	107
Mail order and store sales (in million dollars)	—	44	37	43	39	46	63
Exports	—	49	48	40	33	45	110
Imports	—	39	43	48	32	56	115

1. Compiled by U. S. Department of Commerce, except chain stores (19 companies), which is the index of *Chain Store Age*. All indexes are based on dollar sales.
2. 1923—25=100.
3. Average same month 1929—31=100.
4. 1929—31=100.
5. Preliminary.

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federal government, in spite of all the recent pronouncements, does not mean to proceed with an unemployment insurance program. Roosevelt means to save this country from the "dole". He would rather, by a works test, reduce the wage standards of American labor for its further exploitation by "private initiative and private capital".

TABLE 8—DOMESTIC COMMODITY STOCKS ON HAND[1]

(1923-25=100)

	1934			August			
THE FIELD	Aug.	July	June	1933	1932	1931	1929
All Stocks	144	140	132	142	134	137	127
A. *Manufactured Gds (All)*	111	114	109	108	102	112	116
Chemical products	121	117	115	112	116	115	107
Food products	104	109	95	126	92	97	136
Iron and steel	96	96	95	99	87	129	128
Textiles	163	163	164	123	74	90	112
B. *Raw Materials (All)*	168	160	148	167	157	155	136
Foodstuffs	217	198	162	213	175	213	212
Metals	105	108	97	103	125	148	105
Textile materials	173	174	173	182	189	133	71

1. Compiled by U. S. Department of Commerce.

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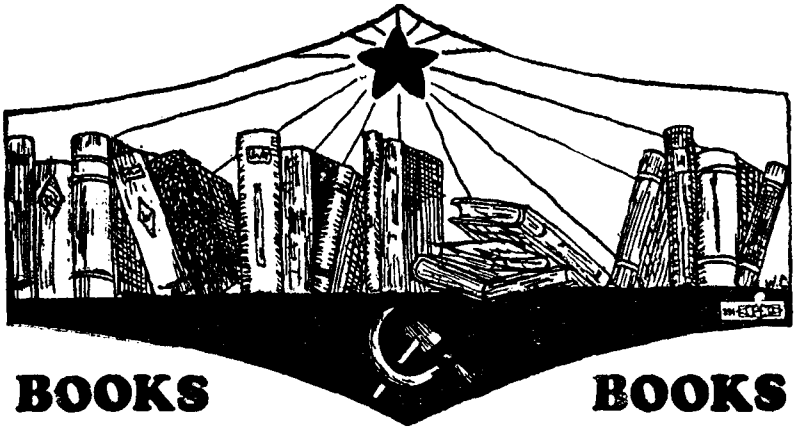

DYNAMITE AGAINST THE WORKING CLASS

DYNAMITE—Story of Class Violence in America, by Louis Adamic. Revised Edition. The Viking Press. New York, 1934. $2.00.

Reviewed by ANTHONY BIMBA

"I AM not, and never was a member of any labor political movement in the United States", says Mr. Adamic, introducing himself to his readers in the new edition of *Dynamite*. "I wrote this book uninfluenced by anyone with a special ax to grind. I wrote it as truthfully as I could determine the truth."

We Marxists have always maintained that in a class society all writers are influenced by the existing class forces. We have also been of the opinion that in spite of the fact that these so-called "above-class" writers loudly proclaim their neutrality in the interests of "unadulterated truth", they are none the less affected in their ideas and thinking by the class forces engaged in a mighty struggle in the world today. And Mr. Adamic is not an exception to this rule. In his *Dynamite* he also grinds an ax, but not the ax of the working class.

Adamic's book has already received some praise from liberal and bourgeois sources. It will be read, no doubt, by some of the workers who will be attracted by the imposing title of the book. This much credit is due Adamic: He gives no quarter to the trade union bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor, and ably exposes its rottenness and its impotency. He gives a vivid, though not always theoretically accurate, picture of the racketeering and gangsterism in the trade union movement as practiced by the reactionary leaders. He also tells what he thinks about the hypocrisy of the bourgeois press in dealing with the struggles of the workers. That is about all that can honestly be said on the credit side of *Dynamite* from the viewpoint of the workers in the class struggle. The rest of the book is objectively a dynamite stick in the hands of the "haves" against the working class; it is the underdog, the worker, who is branded as "terrorist", "anarchist", "murderer", "assassin", and "dynamiter".

From reading *Dynamite* one gets the impression that the American working class forced its way through history with "dynamite!—that's the stuff!", that it blazed its path with assassination, murder, terror. True, the author admits that the ruling class was the first to resort to thuggery, murder and provocation (pp. 97-98); but the workers, it would seem, learned from their enemies

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very quickly and dynamite-violence was always on the order of the day. Indeed, dynamite is a veritable wizard in Adamic's book, performing all sorts of miracles; at least several times it saved the trade union movement from complete annihilation. Even as late as "immediately after the [World] War . . . the unions once more found themselves in a desperate struggle for existence, especially in Chicago, *and dynamite once more was the only means of salvation*" (p. 253). The conclusion is just as wrong as it is ridiculous. Since the Civil War the trade union movement in America became stabilized and continuous because of the economic conditions which forced the workers to organize into permanent organizations. But to Adamic it was the "that's the stuff" dynamite which played the trick and saved them from destruction.

In instance after instance Adamic gives the impression of having come to the labor movement with the predisposition of the sensationalist. For example, in summing up the loss of the steel strike in 1919 he reaches the following conclusion:

"Obviously, *non*-violence was a poor method of winning demands from the employers.

" 'Dynamite! . . . that's the stuff!' And it wasn't long before bombs were again popping in behalf of trade unions—first in Chicago, later in New York and elsewhere" (p. 291).

In other words, the strike was lost because the steel workers failed to employ "that's the stuff" and bombs! But, of course, they learned their lesson very fast and "that's the stuff" began again to pop up everywhere!

Adamic fails to understand the historic role of the trade union movement as an effort on the part of the workers to eliminate competition among themselves, to defend themselves from the encroachments of the employers so that they might not be turned into degraded wretches. The entire movement reduced itself in his mind to dynamite and assassination. He sees practically no power in the mass movement. To him everything revolves around dynamite-violence.

Adamic, who has developed an extraordinary sensitivity to dynamite, smells powder every time an organized worker comes within reach of his nostrils. But were he to ponder soberly over the thesis of his book, he would realize that he has not played fair with the American labor movement. For he would know that he has traduced the revolutionary traditions of the American working class by libelling some of the most outstanding militant labor struggles as dynamiting and hooliganism. He would know that dynamite and strong-arm methods in general are used, not only by the bosses against the workers, but that these methods are also used by the corrupt trade union bureaucrats, through their hired gangsters, not against the bosses with whom they collaborate, but against the militant workers. Were Adamic at all aware of the real nature of the class struggle, he would know that the united front of terror against the working class has been effected by the trade union bureaucracy and the capitalist class—a united front whose basis is the prevention, or where this is ineffective, the betrayal, of strike movements. He would know that the corrupt labor bureaucrats, fearing to mobilize and involve the trade union masses into strike struggles, resort to "strong-arm" methods against the Communists and other militant workers in the reformist trade unions; that murderers and thugs are jointly employed by the bureaucrats and bosses to terrorize the militants.

Adamic's love for the "have-nots" takes on strange forms. If they are attacked, beaten, clubbed, shot down like dogs, it is not so bad. But if, driven to defend themselves, they grab stones and bricks and hurl them at

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the assassins, they are branded as "rioters", "mobs", etc. Here are examples of Adamic's references to militant mass action: "proletarian mobs", "strewing the streets with more dead and wounded rioters" (p. 30), "They aided the rioters", "the streets filled with mobs" (p. 31), "The hungry formed mobs in various sections of the city", "Mobs . . . surged about the city." "For a time it seemed that the rioters . . . would gain the upper hand over the authorities" (p. 35), etc. All this in a single chapter about the historic strike of the railroad workers in 1877. The book is strewn with such epithets for the have-nots. It is the language of the ruling class today. Were not the militant textile strikers branded by our enemies as "rioters", "mobs", "enemies of law and order"?

Adamic deals not only with dynamite and violence. The author attempts to give us the history of all great "violence", the factors involved, etc. He is very definite in his opinions on everything connected with these eruptions in the class struggle. So let us examine some of these incidents.

Adamic begins his story with the "Molly Maguires"—the Irish miners who, in the 'sixties and 'seventies, did not permit the coal and railroad barons in the anthracite fields of Pennsylvania to live in "peace". Who were these miners about whom there used to be told such horrible tales in every bourgeois corner of the United States? According to Adamic, they were rather bad boys. They constituted "a secret miners' society in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania . . . whose principal method of achieving its ends was *terrorism-murder*" (Italics mine—A.B.).

And why were they called the "Molly Maguires"? Well, very long ago in Ireland there lived a widow by the name of Molly Maguire, "who did not believe in the rent system that was in effect in her country". So she organized resistance to this system. Soon her "systematic assassinations were so effectual that for a time part of Ireland", several entire counties, "became uninhabitable except for Mollies". And the worst of it was that this dame, Adamic tells us, "blackened her face and under her petticoat carried a pistol strapped to each of her stout thighs". Further, she was "head of the so-called Free Soil Party, whose banner was her red petticoat . . ." (pp. 12-13). Horrors! Of course, only a historian with penetrating insight would notice a pistol under the dame's petticoat.

Anyway, Molly came to the United States and pursued the same nasty trade. Immediately there were "several thousand Molly Maguires lodges in Pennsylvania, with a central executive body" (p. 18). So there must have been tens of thousands of these Mollies. He also tells us: "Most Mollies were true sons of their spiritual mother, the widow Maguire: strong, dynamic, robust fellows, carousers, drinkers, fighters, brawlers. . . ." (p. 16).

What did they do? According to the author of *Dynamite,* they killed, murdered, assassinated almost everyone, but chiefly the poor bosses. Murder, "that's the stuff!" "And to disagree with a Molly was almost certain death", says Adamic. "For a time many bosses refused to employ Irishmen altogether, but they all died by violence" (p. 15). "Mining bosses and other men displeasing to the Mollies were falling dead week after week" (p. 18). "Several labor leaders and Socialistic orators were murdered in Pennsylvania during this period—in all probability by the Mollies" (p. 16). These Mollies were so terrible that the poor wives of the bosses "trembled when their husbands spoke of visiting the mining districts" (p. 14).

It happens that I have made a special study of this "Molly Maguires" movement, and from all facts and documents in my possession, Adamic is

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not only wrong in the details, but his entire picture is nothing but a portrait of his own bourgeois-inspired phantasies. To squeeze so much venom into less than 13 pages is a herculean feat, the worth of which only the capitalist class can truly evaluate in terms of cash. Had Adamic made more than a superficial study of this important episode in the history of America, he could not have assassinated the truth so brutally and stupidly. What he did was to take all the poison against the miners from *The Molly Maguires* by F. P. Dewees, a paid agent of the coal and railroad barons, mix it with some from other sources, and then throw it into the face of his readers.

Adamic hastened to condemn the miners, forgetting even to tell us that during the bitter strike of 1874-1875 the Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association was completely smashed; that during the struggle many miners lost their lives; that the strike was crushed by the armed forces of the bosses; that during the 'sixties and the early 'seventies the coal barons had their special secret armed vigilante societies in Pennsylvania, whose sole purpose was to murder and terrorize the miners; that, if not more, at least just as many miners or Mollies were killed by these hired murderers as there were bosses killed during this period; that the "Socialistic orators and labor leaders" were not killed by the Mollies, but by the boss-hired assassins; and that the Mollies organized during the strike a most impressive, gigantic, and peaceful, if you pleace, picketing at the mines. Adamic would have learned further, if he had investigated, that there was no society in America calling itself "Molly Maguires", that this mysterious name was attached to The Ancient Order of Hibernians by the boss press. Adamic would have discovered also that it was not "the part of organized society of Pennsylvania not controlled by the Mollies which began a determined secret action against the terrorists" (p. 18); but the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company and its subsidiary, the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company; the government; and Archbishop Wood of the Catholic Church, who himself was a capitalist. The Irish miners were militant fighters, leaders of the masses. When the miners' union was crushed during the strike and a legal organization was impossible, these Irish miners turned their sick and benefit society—The Ancient Order of Hibernians—into a secret fighting organization against the unscrupulous coal interests. And there were not ten, as Adamic says, but at least twice as many of these leaders sentenced to death and executed without any proof that they had killed anyone.

It is impossible for us to understand how a sane person can believe that tens of thousands of miners could have organized themselves into "several thousand lodges" chiefly for the purpose of murder and assassination.

As his entire "truth" about the Mollies is upside down, so is his conclusion that the Molly Maguires represent "the first beginnings of racketeering in America" (p. 21), and that the present corrupt trade union bureaucracy is something like a resurrected Molly Maguirism.

No less extremely has he distorted the great events of 1877 on the class struggle arena. His treatment of the militant railroad strike is in essence grinding of the ruling class ax. I have already referred to this point in quoting Adamic on "riots" and "rioters".

What was the meaning of this historic strike? For the first time the great masses of the railroad workers revolted simultaneously against wage-cuts and bravely faced the brutal forces of the bourgeois State. They organized mass picketing and stopped the trains from moving. In almost every railroad center armed militia and gunmen attacked the workers

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brutally, murdering them by the dozen. But to Adamic these workers were only "rioters", and their struggle and mass picketing were only "mob riots". Take, for instance, the massacre of the workers in Pittsburgh. On the railroad near the station the workers were attacked by armed soldiers without the slightest provocation. Twenty-six workers were murdered. But the author of *Dynamite*, who shed so many tears about the trembling wives of the coal barons, has only the following to say about this massacre:

> "The jobless and the hungry formed mobs in various sections of the city. Soldiers attempted to disperse them. Within a few days over twenty workmen were shot dead and more than 50 wounded." (p. 32.)

Just an "attempt" to disperse! Adamic writes in the same vein about the massacre in Reading, Pa., where 13 workers were slaughtered. He does not even mention the fact that they were killed by soldiers and gunmen of the companies. He says only this: "Riots occurred elsewhere in Pennsylvania. At Reading 13 were killed and over 20 wounded in a single day" (p. 32). Since "riots occurred", the workers were responsible; for, why did they "riot"?

Another very significant factor in this strike was the sympathy of the masses of workers with the strikers and their active participation in the struggle. This was something entirely new in America. Tens of thousands of workers joined their railroad brothers on the picket line—very much as in San Francisco the workers joined the struggle of the marine strikers; or in Minneapolis, the truck drivers; or in Toledo, the automobile workers. As happened recently in these three cities, so in 1877 the unemployed workers, instead of rushing to take the jobs of the strikers, extended their hand of splendid class solidarity to them and were in the very forefront of the picket lines. But listen to Adamic:

> "For three days the riots continued in Baltimore. The strikers, who were practically leaderless, were joined by thousands of laborers and mechanics out of work as well as by the entire criminal class of the city, eager for an opportunity to plunder. A large number of men in various other occupations, who had recently suffered reductions in wages, were in a sullen mood. They welcomed what they thought was an attempt on the part of the railroad men to right a common wrong. They aided the rioters and stimulated the movement by reckless and inflammatory talk, until it became a loose, haphazard mob action" (pp. 30-31).

The ruling class also brands all mass actions of the workers as "mob actions", joined "by the entire criminal class", in order to justify the massacre of the workers. But after the smoke of the battle has cleared, the dead always prove to have been militant workers, and never anyone from the "criminal class". Adamic concludes this chapter with the sermon: "For several years it was extremely unwise for workers to join the unions or support radical political movements" (p. 37). This is a new lesson to us. We always thought it extremely wise *at all times* for the have-nots, the underdogs, to join organizations of the working class and to support "radical political movements". It is true that they sometimes fail to realize this truth, but it is greatly to their detriment.

There are many other points about which Adamic fails to present his-

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torical truth or makes baseless assertions. For example, Marx and Engels were not opposed to all barricades and all violence, as implied by Adamic, nor was Abraham Lincoln "a sort of Socialist". Adamic's sneer at those who attempted to stir the masses into action after the Civil War reveals the corrupting influence of bourgeois environment. To him they were only "a few hot-headed, wild-eyed radicals" (p. 44). The capitalist press in America describes the Communists in the same language.

Adamic criminally distorts the events leading to the Haymarket tragedy in 1886. The militant leaders of the Chicago labor movement are pictured as advocates of dynamite and violence. On page after page he tells us that these men continuously called for violence, dynamite, murder of the rich and bombs; but he fails to produce a single case in which they used dynamite or killed any of the "poor" rich. With a charitable liberalism, Adamic declares: "While there may be little doubt that the Haymarket bomb was manufactured and thrown by some idealistic anarchist of the Louis Lingg type, the idea that the deed was perpetrated by a criminal, hired by agents of the Chicago employers who were interested in destroying the eight-hour movement then in progress, is not unreasonable or far-fetched" (p. 96)—with the emphasis, however, on the "little doubt" as to the first supposition. Everyone (at least everyone but Adamic), knows the Haymarket explosion was the work of the Chicago police.

The book abounds in slurs at outstanding militant labor traditions couched in such terms as "wild-and-wooly doings as 'Debs Rebellion'" (p. 179), "Haywood's gang of outlaws" (p. 180), "ultra-emotional radical movement", "a new breed of radicals" (p. 279). Adamic's reasons for the failure and destruction of the I.W.W. are vulgar and superficial. The "Wobblies" failed, not because, as Adamic states, they "directed their best energies to improve the lot of the lowest class of industrial workers" (p. 174).

The I.W.W. failed because it rejected the necessity of a struggle against the bourgeois State and, in the trade union movement, the necessity of revolutionary political leadership; because it set up as one of its aims the destruction of all other trade unions; because it lost its militancy after the war, opposing the Communist movement; and finally, because its leadership had degenerated, becoming corrupt and counter-revolutionary.

Adamic says in almost so many words that a sincere, honest, militant revolutionary leadership in the trade union movement is impossible:

> "The average big labor leader must suffer all the vicissitudes of the political leader in a modern democracy. If he strives to lead the less educated and balanced workmen by the light that glows in him, he may soon be an ex-leader, unless that light happens to be as fitful and irrational a flicker as the feeling of his fellows" (p. 188).

Speaking of the present crisis, and closing his eyes and ears to the existence of the Communist Party and the new revolutionary rank-and-file leadership in trade unions, unemployed struggles and strikes, he hopelessly shouts to the heavens that "no leadership appeared which had the suffering of the masses really at heart and knew what to do about it" (p. 426). He finds himself in a blind alley.

It is simply nauseating to hear Adamic summon Sam Gompers from his grave in order to contrast him favorably with Bill Green. He minces no words about the treacheries of Green and his pledge to the government,

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on the eve of the present crisis, that the American Federation of Labor would not struggle for higher wages and better conditions; but he forgets that at least twice Gompers made the same pledge to the government—once during the war and again in the "reconstruction" period after the war.

Adamic plays into the hands of the enemies of the workers when he charges Tom Mooney with having been "known to be a believer in dynamite, 'the actual stuff'" (p. 266). Almost every American labor martyr, beginning with the "Mollies" and ending with Tom Mooney, is thus in one way or another besmirched by the author of *Dynamite*.

Adamic fails to reveal the basis of labor racketeering and of the corruption of the leadership of the trade union movement. He says nothing about the curse of the class collaboration policies and theories of the American Federation of Labor and other reformist trade unions. He attempts to separate Big Business and the Government. To him the Washington Government and the whole State apparatus are something apart from Big Business, something in-between, for the control of which there is a constant war between Big Business and "the social will" (whatever that may be). This is nothing but the old bourgeois theory that the State is above classes and serves all equally; and, it may be added, it is the "new" theory that is utilized both by social-fascism and fascism; Here is what he says:

> "To society it [Big Business] has only a few *legal* responsibilities, which the social will, struggling against the evils and tyrannies of Big Business, now and then manages to impose upon it through such agencies as Congress, the Department of Justice, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Trade Board and just now the New Deal legislation."

Apparently, even the N.R.A. is an "imposition" upon Big Business! He continues:

> "But very frequently, almost invariably, Big Business, with its money power, gains control of these agencies and thwarts social will, thus evading even its legal responsibilities" (pp. 414-415).

Anyone who has the least idea about the operations of Congress, the Department of Justice, and all the other agencies of the bourgeois State, knows that they are all merely instruments of Wall Street, Big Business. These agencies are *always* directed against the "social will"—the majority of the people—the workers, the poor farmers, the small business man.

Where is Adamic traveling? The last chapter of *Dynamite* was written for the second edition as late as 1934. Almost three years of the greatest crisis of capitalism filled with the most important events in the history of the class struggle had passed—three years to ponder and test one's ideas in the fire of these events! But Adamic has only the following to say about this "story": "I realize that, in the preceding 32 chapters, I have put together a rather dreadful story" (p. 396). The fact is that the story is not so dreadful as it is distorted. Adamic cannot or does not want to see this even as late as 1934.

In this last chapter Adamic carefully refrains from discovering dynamite in every strike as "that's the stuff", and he again brands the A. F. of L. bureaucrats for all they are worth, but he succeeds only in becoming laudatory of the Musteites—the most adept apologists in the labor movement for these very bureaucrats. To him the great hero of the famous

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Auto-Lite strike in Toledo was Louis Budenz, who made the great sacrifice of letting himself be "pinched" during the demonstration against the injunction.* The role played in Toledo by the most militant leaders of the masses of workers—the Unemployment Councils and the Communist Party—as recognized by everyone, is barely mentioned. Budenz won the strike! How simple. . . .

What were the main events during the period 1929-1934? *The struggles of the unemployed.* But to Adamic these heroic struggles did not even exist. His attitude is that of the petty-bourgeois liberal. He does not recognize that history is made by mass movements. To him a few good-hearted middle class intellectuals together with wise industrial and financial leaders are the makers of history. Therefore, for his material he did not go to the working masses to learn their aspirations, their desires and their struggles. He goes instead to the executives of the big corporations.

"Soon after the crash," Adamic assures us, "solemn and hysterical voices began to be heard all over the land uttering pleas and words of warning to industrial and financial leaders of the country. People wrote letters to the press that something must be done 'at once' about the unemployment situation, which, they insisted, was growing worse daily." Further on he says with a seriousness that leaves one astonished: "Editorial writers, on progressive and conservative papers alike, were pointing to the degenerating effects of unemployment and kindred industrial evils on the national character and emphasizing the desperate need of 'enlightened, social-minded leadership in the business community'" (pp. 405-406).

The role of these "editorial writers" is completely distorted. Far from emphasizing the effects of unemployment, these bourgeois pen-prostitutes continued to proclaim the gospel of "a chicken in every pot and an automobile in every garage" and energetically denied the existence of an unemployment problem or of the suffering of the unemployed.

Whose were these "solemn and hysterical voices"? When, how and why did they come? They were forced out of hiding only by the great mass movement of the unemployed workers led by the Communist Party of America. Only after the great unemployed demonstration of March 6, 1930, did these "voices" and these "editorial writers" become alarmed and begin to warn the industrial and financial moguls.

In conclusion we must say that regardless of the author's recent attempts to come nearer to the working class, *Dynamite* will not help the working class to clear its path on its march to emancipation.

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* In a telegram sent to A. J. Muste just after the Toledo strike, Budenz revealed that the American Workers Party utilizes such "arrests" merely for the purpose of replenishing its coffers. The telegram follows:

"Protest Cope getting big allowance for doing nothing. It is time he woke up. Ted and Sam did. Now is time for us to establish leadership in steel. Time to put a stop to all this pampering. When is he going to get arrested so that we can raise some money on his efforts?" (*Daily Worker*, June 12, 1934).

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